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City Limits

NEW YORK'S URBAN AFFAIRS NEWS MAGAZINE

COPS
FOR COUNCIL
IS SCHOOL CHOICE
WORKING TOO WELL?



THERE GOES THE NEIGHBORHOOD

IN AN ENVIRONMENTALISTS TURF WAR,
BIG CONSERVATIONISTS ARE CROWDING
OUT THE CITY'S GRASSROOTS GREENS



The Space Race

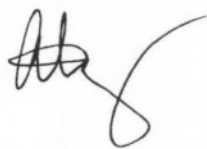
Though it now seems like, well, another century, it was only a few months ago that the city's move to auction dozens of community garden lots sent a loud message to neighborhoods that they just do not matter. As you may recall, salvation descended in the form of Bette Midler and the Trust for Public Land, which together put up more than \$4 million to purchase the plots in bulk.

At the time, this magazine was mostly silent on the issue. Auctioning gardens in neighborhoods starved for green space is cruel, mercenary and, as planning policy, downright stupid. But the decision pointed up a conundrum: While some of those gardens were destined to become parking lots or corners of P.C. Richard stores, others were prime spots for affordable housing. Other garden land is already the property of the city's housing agency, which has been reclaiming the plots for new townhouse construction. Particularly in the booming Bronx, community development organizations have been eager to secure well-located land to build housing, and neighborhood gardens—most of them in places where apartments once stood—offer a perfect opportunity.

As *City Limits* documented in "Melrose's Thorny Dilemma" (September/October 1999), the result is that housing developers and gardeners—each bringing an invaluable commitment to neighborhood revitalization—are pitted against one another. In the end, it's the community that loses out, relinquishing both vital open space and a say in its destiny.

Its auction dollars well spent, the Trust for Public Land is now helping fund an effort intended to reinvent that precarious relationship between bricks and grass. (For more on the Trust's ventures into New York City neighborhoods, see "Green With Envy," page 16.) In November, planners sponsored by a 4-year-old organization called the Design Trust for Public Space held a public meeting with Bronx Community Board 3, at which developers, gardeners and Morrisania residents sat down together to figure out what they all wanted. Essentially, the project is seeking a solution of planned triage, so residents can collectively and rationally decide which gardens and other open spaces are their greatest assets, worthy of sustained investment and renewal, and which ones might be better put to use as badly needed housing.

This project won't stop the city from holding more auctions, but if it works, Morrisania will have turned a dire situation to its own advantage. Instead of being split into two camps, gardeners and housing developers, fighting each other in a losing turf battle, the neighborhood will be able to present a unified, coordinated front, focusing both its defenses and offenses on getting what it wants out of auctions. And if someone still wants to buy a lot to park their cars, the Trust can always sic Bette on them.



Alyssa Katz
Editor

Cover photo by Gregory P. Mango

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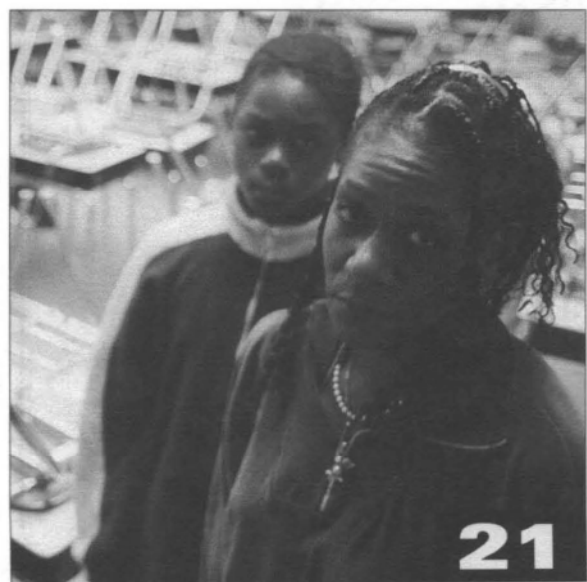
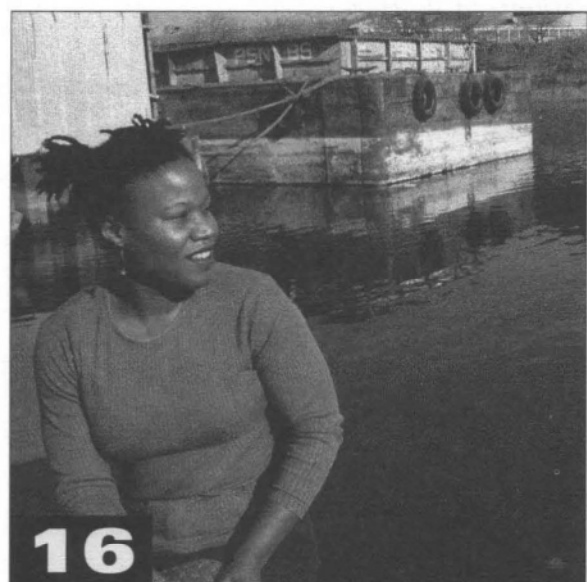
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Building Blocks

For years, the New York Equity Fund has been the financial middleman for virtually every low-income housing project in town. That's meant profits for the fund, little choice for developers and big questions about what happens when the tax credits run out.

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Neighborhood environmental justice groups have labored in obscurity for years, picketing polluters and tilting at transfer stations. Now, as national environmental organizations are eyeing their street-level work, some wonder whether New York's "EJ" groups will keep it real.

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School choice is supposed to reward success and punish failure—and that's exactly what's happening at the lackluster I.S. 70 in Chelsea. But when a sub-par school gets shut down, it's not clear who benefits.

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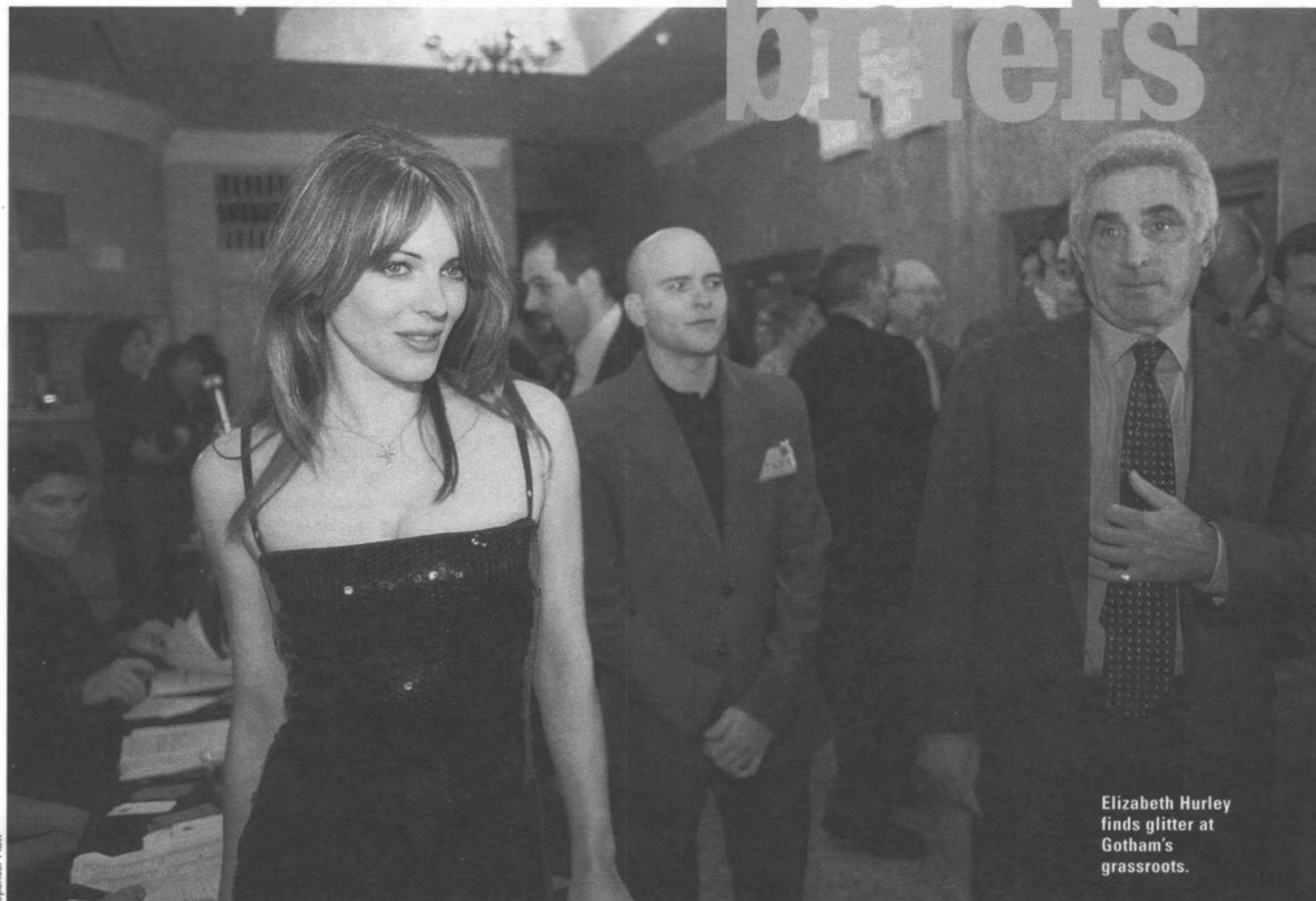
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briefs



Elizabeth Hurley finds glitter at Gotham's grassroots.

Spencer Platt

Heroes

Stars Big and Small

If, by chance, you were idly wondering what Elizabeth Hurley, Heather Locklear and Miss USA 1999 might have to contribute to the struggle for community change, listen up.

At the 1999 "Do Something" awards gala in late October, sleek-haired ingenues in gauzy dresses floated amongst the pastries and big-donor pinstripes while organization founder Andrew Shue (*Melrose Place*'s Billy) delivered his introductory remarks. At first, Shue's social commentary ("In certain streets, there is a pain and an agony,") was drowned out by the chatter, but as soon as Joe Piscopo began to introduce the award winners, the crowd quieted down fast.

It might have merely been manners—but perhaps it was sheer astonishment, or maybe even a creeping sense of shame. These 10 award winners, all under 30, were selected for their "lead-

ership, entrepreneurial skills, and long-term vision for their community," and the scope of their successes would impress even the most single-minded young socialite. One honoree, for example, was a formerly homeless young man who put himself through college and started a mentoring program for Atlanta kids. Another ran a campaign in South Central Los Angeles that mobilized more than 6,000 students to push for increased school funding.

But best of all, two of the award winners were Brooklyn's own: Brad Lander, wunderkind executive director of the powerhouse Fifth Avenue Committee, and Oona Chatterjee, co-founder of the scrappy Bushwick organization Make the Road by Walking. They, like the other award winners, will get \$10,000 to use however they see fit; both also got to meet the Fugees' Wyclef Jean.

"The awards ceremony was great, and the other

people were very inspiring," says Chatterjee, who won for her work organizing welfare recipients and neighborhood youth. Her organization will most likely use the money to expand space for its youth program.

As part of the award, the honorees spent a day in interviews and had a big dinner party, where they got to schmooze and talk shop with the other award winners. And while the brush with celebrity might have been kind of a kick, what really thrilled both Lander and Chatterjee was getting to know the grand prize recipient, Lucas Benitez of Immokalle, Florida. Benitez, only 23, recently secured the first wage increase for tomato pickers in 20 years, uncovered two slavery rings, and helped workers win \$100,000 in back wages. "Lucas is an amazing guy," says Lander. Agrees Chatterjee, "It doesn't always get recognized, but the kind of work he does has a glorious heritage."

And in case you're worrying, the glitter didn't turn their heads. "It's funny to have seen people on the movie screen, and to know that I talked for two minutes and they listened to what I said," says Chatterjee. "I don't know if it means anything, but it was nice."

—Kathleen McGowan



Hunts Point's Jenny Gough and Francisco Perez have had enough of trucks.

Seth Dinnerman

Traffic

Big Mack Attack

In October, Jenny Gough had only been monitoring truck traffic for a half hour when she nearly became a statistic herself. Standing on the corner of Hunts Point Avenue and Garrison, counting passing trucks as part of a community study, Gough suddenly saw a driverless truck careening down the hill toward her. Just before it climbed onto the sidewalk, Gough leaped out of its path.

The truck splintered a fire department call box and slammed into the front of the corner bodega. Although no one was hurt, the incident proved what Hunts Point residents have been saying all along: Truck traffic is a menace to the neighborhood.

"It's evidence that trucks in this neighborhood are out of control," Gough says. As a volunteer for the community group Mothers on the Move, she was watching traffic in order to push the city to change current truck routes. Local residents say they are overburdened by the garbage and deliv-

ery trucks that flood this mixed industrial and residential neighborhood. Last year, one study found that 10,000 trucks go into Hunts Point each week.

Past run-ins with the Department of Transportation have locals worried that their suggestions won't be taken seriously. Talks, petitions and letter campaigns have never worked; it took public demonstrations to push DOT to install speed bumps, traffic lights and stop signs. It's more likely that residents will see only minor changes to the routes, say local officials.

John Robert, District Manager of the Hunts Point Community Board, believes that MOM's proposed route should take into account the business community's interests. "Hunts Point is a highly industrial community, and we can't change a truck route to satisfy the tenants of one building, who may be in the middle of eight blocks of industrial buildings," he says. Robert believes that more signs designating legal truck routes, along with stepped-up police enforcement, is the only reasonable answer. Residents, on the other hand, argue that truckers often violate the laws, and that police don't heed their calls.

Now that the census part of the MOM study is over, Gough and other volunteers don't have to worry about wayward trucks. But while off-duty, Hunts Point residents say they usually look both ways—even on one-way streets.

—Yahaira Castro

Film Review

Staples Remover

In early November, a crowd of community advocates gathered at the ritzy law offices of Skadden, Arps for the Alliance for Justice's "First Monday" event. The annual party, held to coincide with the opening of the U.S. Supreme Court, has a different theme each year; this time, the spotlight was on housing, and on Glen Pearcy's documentary "Bringing Justice Home." Scored by Bruce Springsteen and Simon and Garfunkel, the film is a three-part epic of legislation and litigation, with success stories from rural Washington State, inner-city Chicago, and suburban Montgomery County, Maryland.

But the festive mood quickly dampened when *New York Times* editorial writer Brent Staples decided to share his personal views on public housing. "I think we should tear them down post-haste, whether or not we have enough housing," he said. "Deal with the aftermath, but just clear them out."

Staples did hear out Eva Landeo, a lawyer for the Legal Aid Society, who trashed his idea as reckless. But he didn't stick around long enough to hear several guests question the decision to invite him.

—Aaron Clark

Contracts

Low Bid or No Bid

When Center for New York City Law researchers ranked the city's 100 biggest contracts this year, they found an notable trend: an increase in contracts awarded through "negotiated acquisition."

This process circumvents the usual scheme of competitive bidding. There is a much tighter relationship between contractor and city, and much of the process can actually be done in private, over the phone. Negotiated acquisition was originally set up to quickly award capital contracts in "emergency" situations.

But the city is using this low-competition method more and more, and expanding it to other kinds of contracts, like last year's \$75 million remodeling at Rikers Island. Social service contracts are also now being let this way—for example, the city's new multimillion-dollar contracts for job assessment and job training were arranged through negotiated acquisition.

—Kathleen McGowan



Welfare-To-Work

Contractus Maximus

The city welfare agency is putting its welfare-to-work and job training and placement contracts into the hands of a dozen giant players, *City Limits* has learned. Five of those are for-profits, and the records of some—in particular Maximus, based in Virginia—raise serious questions about why the city passed over well-respected locals for some out-of-state firms.

Maximus was the first company to privatize a welfare system—Los Angeles County's, from 1988 to 1993. Headed by West Point grad and former Defense Department analyst David Mastran, Maximus, which posted an 81 percent increase in third quarter net income over last year, boasts 3,200 employees in 34 states. It was recently ranked among the top 10 small companies by *Fortune* magazine—a true corporate success story.

But in Connecticut, the name Maximus is synonymous with the pitfalls of privatization. In 1997, Maximus botched a \$12.8 million con-

tract to pay childcare fees for women enrolled in a welfare-to-work program. Within three months, Maximus staff was overwhelmed with calls, and a month late processing 10,000 of the 17,000 clients' checks. Kids whose fees weren't paid were sometimes kicked out of daycare centers; childcare centers with high numbers of state-sponsored clients faced ruin when the checks didn't come.

Threatening to terminate the deal, Connecticut demanded that the firm increase staffing and bring in better equipment. After doubling its staff, Maximus made its own demand: to have its contract fee bumped up by 50 percent. State officials forked it over.

"In terms of service here, they've been abysmal," says spokesperson Rick Melita of Connecticut State Employees Association, the state workers union. "They underbid, over-promised and they didn't deliver."

Maximus has had other troubles. Handling a state contract in New Jersey, *Time* magazine reports, the company contacted the parents of mentally disabled youngsters living in state institutions and demanded that complicated financial data be submitted within ten days. The state had to ask Maximus to lighten up.

In 1996, Nebraska terminated a Medicaid management contract with Maximus for poor performance. And Arizona officials claimed in 1993 that they had to refund \$250,000 in child

support payments because Maximus made data entry errors.

"Maximus has a stellar record in welfare to work," responds spokesperson Colleen Roche (formerly of Mayor's Giuliani's press team). She points out that the company has an overall job-placement rate of 70 percent. "In Connecticut, no one could have anticipated the need that had to be filled, and calls were so voluminous that they overloaded the phone system. But the problems were fixed in short order."

The nonprofits awarded New York City contracts, which cover everything from skills assessment to job placement and retention, include Wildcat, Goodwill, FECS, the Consortium for Worker Education, Bronx Community College, NYANA, the Nonprofit Assistance Corp and the New York Urban League.

America Works, Curtis & Associates, ARBOR and Career & Educational Consultants are the other for-profits.

The contracts focus on welfare clients but include other low-income job seekers. Neighborhood-based job trainers are concerned that the shift to these behemoths may eliminate the specialized, hands-on training that helps people get and keep good jobs in favor of a supermarket-style system. Many are now in the process of hammering out subcontracting agreements with the big winners.

—Kathleen McGowan and Jarrett Murphy

Union Labels

The city's cops, firefighters and sanitation workers are looking for a few good people—to run for office.

By Jarrett Murphy

When term limits turn the City Council upside down in 2001, opening 37 of the council's 51 seats to newcomers, the city will need a new crop of elected officials. There will be no shortage of candidates, from party hacks to immigrant insurgents, who will claim that they are the most committed to New York City. But who better to serve New Yorkers, ask the unions that represent the city's uniformed civil servants, than the cops, firefighters, corrections officers and sanitation workers who've made their careers out of responding to the city's needs?

ly, the Uniformed Forces Coalition realizes this is going to be a once in a lifetime opportunity to influence who wins the election."

The Uniformed Forces Coalition, which includes the powerful Patrolmen's Benevolent Association, is currently searching for candidates from its own active and retired ranks to run for city council in 2001. Anyone, member or not, is invited to submit a resume. The leaders of the effort say that in a race that will throw the entire city's political leadership up for grabs—besides the council, the Mayor, Public Advocate, Comptroller and four Borough President

are just two dreaded proposals that have surfaced in the council in recent years.

So the unions want to get people they can count on in council seats. Says Correction Officers Benevolent Association president Norman Seabrook, "We can't have individuals that current members can't work with, that have a spaced-out agenda. I think that it's important that we as laborers have an experience to bring to the table."

"It's certainly frightening, without a doubt," agrees Carter, the legislative director for the firefighter union. "The only thing we can do is hope that we are going to fill these spots with people who understand our needs."

And those people, believes Detectives Endowment Association president Thomas Scotto, should come from the union ranks themselves. "There are very few members of the City Council who have prior city service experience, and therefore it's difficult at times when you go before the City Council to try to convince them of the need to modify the law as a city worker," he says. "Former city workers would understand the appeal more than others."

Sheldon Leffler, chair of the council's Public Safety Committee, is the kind of councilperson the unions don't want to see—he has differed often with them on contract terms. Leffler doesn't believe the unions can wean themselves from self-interest and take a citywide view. The coalition will merely "select candidates who they feel pass muster on certain issues," he predicts.

The unions insist they're not just out for themselves, and they boast that their candidates will enjoy the combined manpower, financial strength and resources, such as phone banks, of all 12 unions. They report roughly 100,000 combined active members, and union leaders estimate, perhaps over-enthusiastically, the total strength of active, retired and family members at half a million people.

What they won't always necessarily have is the backing of Democratic or Republican party pols: According to Carter and other leaders, the coalition is willing to support candidates who have no political party endorsement. With much to both gain and lose from the election, the unions are poised to become an ad hoc party of their own.



Mayita Mendez

The 2001 elections could feature cops and firefighters on the ballot.

A coalition of 12 of the city's uniformed worker unions is planning to run a slate of candidates with a union label. While election endorsements are a standard ritual of labor's political influence, this is the first time in memory that unions also plan to run their own candidates—including active members of the civil service. Their obvious interest in winning influence notwithstanding, the coalition's leaders swear that their needs and the city's are not as far apart as voters might think.

"We have always been involved in politics," says Uniformed Firefighters Association Vice President Mike Carter, "but what's unique now is that because of term limits, you have a situation that's never presented itself: you have 37 vacancies. So very wise-

seats will be open—the uniformed unions can't just rely on party politicians to keep an eye out for their interests. This time around, they're looking for candidates who understand labor's point of view—from the inside.

The Uniformed Forces Coalition has every reason to jump at the chance to get on the council. Its members feel their interests haven't been addressed in recent city contracts: Union leaders say that salary increases of 3 to 6 percent in recent years haven't kept pace with the rise in city revenues that has come with the Wall Street boom. The unions are also coming into 2001 on the defensive—restrictions on lucrative overtime and city residency requirements for cops and firefighters and

Emerging out of the bargaining process it now hopes to steer, the new Uniformed Forces Coalition began to gel during the 1998 contract talks with the Giuliani administration, as union leaders met informally every couple of months to keep on top of how everyone was doing. As they listed the perennial array of issues they were concerned about, the idea of running candidates for office came up as a way to make sure those concerns were addressed. In October 1999, the coalition began running ads in the *Chief*, an independent civil service newspaper, inviting members of unions and the public to submit resumes and schedule interviews with union leaders. That process will continue throughout 2000, after which the 12 union leaders will meet to pick their candidates.

The coalition probably won't nominate a full council slate. What it will do, union heads say, is strive for voter support from outside the ranks by pitching a broad, city-wide platform highlighting issues with mass appeal, like education and crime.

But even as they claim to support an inclusive approach, union leaders stress that labor issues are the heart of the matter. "We'd like to see candidates that have respect for the city labor force—that we are working men and women that have families to support and that we are not always treated fairly," says Peter Gorman, head of the Fire Officers Union. "Fairly" means siding with the unions on issues like pension benefits, pay, overtime, residency requirements, and the controversial Discipline Bill, which would give the police commissioner broad powers to punish cops for bad behavior.

An analysis of campaign donations by the 12 unions' political action committees, or PACs, suggests the coalition will be flexible in choosing its allies. Combining the donations of all 12 PACs in the 1997 mayoral race, 44 percent went to Giuliani, 39 percent to Councilmember (and vocal labor supporter) Sal Albanese, 12 percent to Manhattan Borough President Ruth Messinger and 5 percent to Rev. Al Sharpton.

But the differences from union to union are significant. The Correction Officers union was the only one to give to either Messinger or Sharpton. While, according to Campaign Finance Board records, the Fire Officers gave \$7,700 to Rudy and only \$150 to Albanese, the Sergeants gave to Sal (\$5,900) but not to the mayor. Sometimes

those differences lie in the unions' membership, with officers unions promoting different priorities from unions of the rank and file. In other cases, it's personal: Scotto, for example, has often feuded with Mayor Giuliani, and his union's support of the mayor has been correspondingly lukewarm.

It's not yet clear who will lead the coalition's political decision-making: the PBA has the most members, 27,000, but the Correction Officers have been giving the most money, and its president, Seabrook, has been at the forefront of the coalition's political efforts. Who will actually run is also murky. Mike Carter has received three resumes so far: one from an Assistant District Attorney and former fire fighter, another from a Queens fire company member who recently passed the bar, and a third from a young firefighter and recent college graduate who just moved to Manhattan.

The image those candidates present is one political consultants get paid well to mold their clients into: working-class, educated family people, decent and honest.

Carter asks, "Who better than us? Firefighters will have two or three or four children, will coach the soccer and baseball team, will participate in the PTA. We're good family people." Besides, he says, "there's enough lawyers in politics."

A couple of other union members rumored likely to run for office, though, are not exactly rank and file: Scotto is reported to be considering a run for Staten Island borough president, while union sources say privately that Sergeants Benevolent Association president Joseph Toal is a "good bet" to run for City Council in Brooklyn. Scotto says a candidacy is not on his radar screen. Toal didn't return calls.

Whoever runs, it remains to be seen whether they'll fit in in diverse New York City. Political scholar John Mollenkopf of the City University of New York observes that the coalition will have to contend with the perception that "these are all unions of guys, heavily based in ethnic groups that were ascendant a century ago as opposed to groups that are dominant today.... It will

(continued on page 27)

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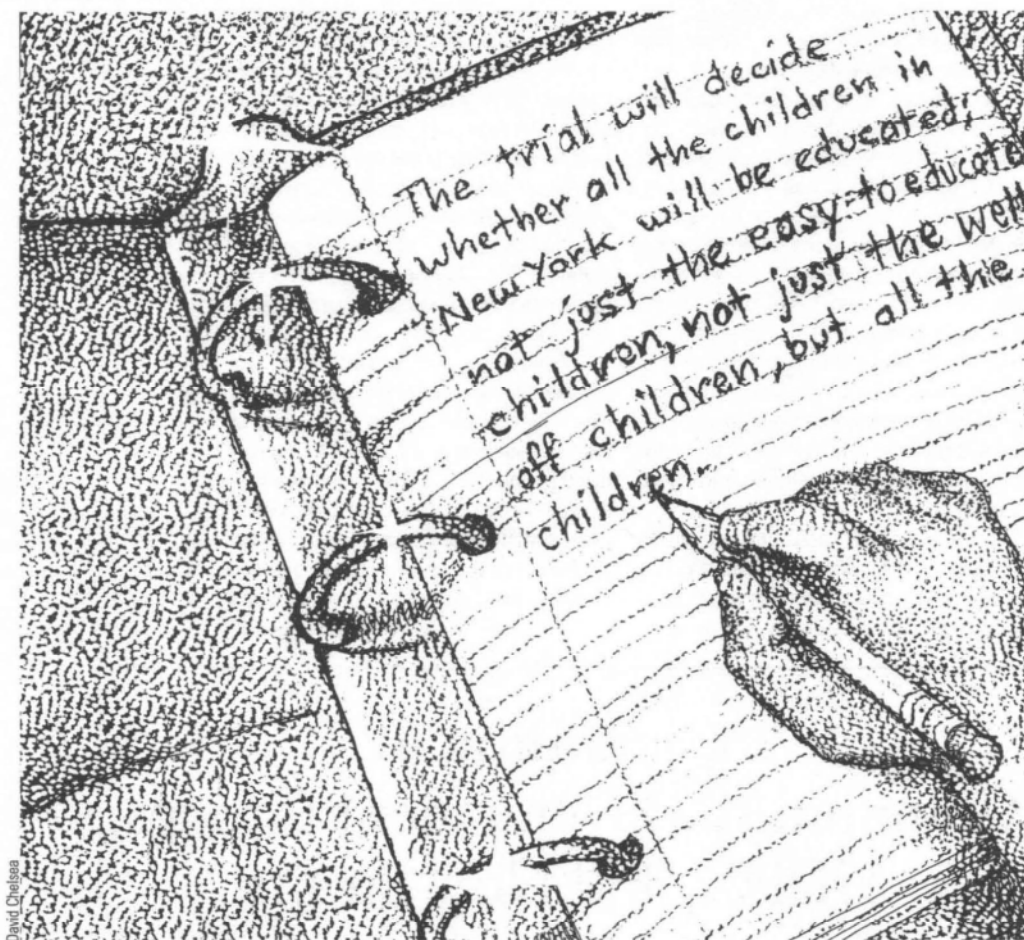
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Teaching What's Wrong

In court and class, students get a personal lesson in the inequities of school funding.

By Joanna Cagan



David Cheslow

On a bright November morning, visitors file into Judge Leland DeGrasse's courtroom in New York State Supreme Court to hear lawyers take on New York State's education funding system. It's a reliable crowd: witnesses waiting to be called, a smattering of local press, and a group of public high school students quietly scooting into the last row of benches. All are there to catch the blockbuster case, *Campaign for Fiscal Equity v. State of New York*, that aims to get New York City its fair share of state education money.

Puffy jackets and surreptitious games of tic-tac-toe may seem out of place in court. But like the hundreds of kids who've visited before them, these juniors and seniors from Barbara Rozales' Law Journalism class at Franklin K. Lane High School have a vested interest in how this case turns out.

Like many high school programs city wide, Rozales' popular seminar lacks some basic amenities. Her class doesn't have access to even a single computer. The students give their teacher handwritten or typed articles, and she retypes them on her own home PC.

"My children graduated from schools in Nassau County, and I saw a difference, in the physical layout, in the equipment," Rozales says. "My children were using computers from kindergarten up."

For one week in November, her students looked at why they don't have the amenities many schools outside the city have. As part of outreach efforts in connection with its lawsuit, the Campaign for Fiscal Equity has developed a new curriculum being used citywide that's brought more than two dozen classes to visit the court since the trial began in October. The curriculum is designed to help students

understand how the Board of Education's funding crisis affects their lives, and learn how the legal system can be used to turn around seemingly unfixable problems.

The case is worth looking at, says senior Melanie Rivera, "because it's affecting us." She and her classmates rattle off a list of inadequacies in their school on the Brooklyn-Queens border—from peeling walls to floors riddled with dangerous nails. But they also are quick to point out that it can be hard to get perspective on their situation, since the conditions under which they've been studying are the only conditions they know. The lawsuit has served in large part to illuminate what they've been missing.

"We haven't been to other schools to compare," Rivera explains during a break in the morning's proceedings. Leroy Frasier remembers that he once got a glimpse at a suburban school. "I did take a trip upstate in 1995," he says. He admired the school's separate fields for each of its sports teams, and its brightly muralled walls. "It was a really nice place."

The Campaign's suit, finally going to trial after six years in the courts, accuses the state of illegally shortchanging New York City's public school children out of hundreds of millions of dollars in state funding every year. New York City enrolls 38 percent of the state's public school children but receives only 35.5 percent of the state's education funding. It's a fundamentally unjust disparity, the suit alleges, that has deprived the city's kids of qualified teachers, sufficient classroom space, modern textbooks and other basic necessities for an education. Attorneys also charge that, because 84 percent of New York City's public school students are minorities, and because the city's schools are home to 74 percent of the state's minority students, the funding structure is in violation of federal civil rights law.

For three years, the Campaign has sponsored public meetings for parents, students, teachers and community members to discuss education reform. CFE approached Ann Dworkis, a veteran city teacher and school activist, to draft a curriculum to make sure students remained involved. CFE staffers pride themselves on the Campaign's commitment to making education

reform truly community-based. Including and ultimately inspiring teenagers is very much at the heart of that strategy.

The curriculum is spread over five lessons. First, students learn about the idea of a "sound basic education," which under the state Constitution must be made available to all New York's children. The curriculum then looks at the complicated formulas the state uses to determine education funding. That's followed by a lesson in citizen advocacy, a trip to court and then another advocacy session. The idea, Dworkis says, is to give students a personal investment in humdrum civics topics like separation of powers and the legislative and judicial processes. "I wanted the students to be aware of how money is spent in the state," she says. "It's a real issue for them."

"I want to create students that are actively participating in their government," Dworkis explains. "I want them to know that indifference does nothing."

On the day the Franklin K. Lane students visit, the court is bogged down in a long argument over a procedural matter. Interest soon wanes, and some students pass notes, check makeup and whisper. This is a class that's also been to a homicide trial, and it's soon clear how the two cases stack up.

The students come alive, though, for the debriefing that follows every court visit. Attorney Robert Hughes, one of a handful of lawyers working on the trial for CFE, gathers the class for an energetic hallway session. "Did anybody find it boring?" he first asks, and almost everyone's hands go up in relief. "Welcome to the real world of civil litigation," Hughes laughs. The kids laugh too, and a swift participatory lesson is underway.

Hughes likes the curriculum for more than its effect on the students. "It's very easy to become cynical" as an attorney, he confides after they have left. "It's important for us to see our clients every day. I love having these kids here." His affection for the students is evident in his parting words to the class. "It's a great honor to represent you," Hughes concludes. "I want you to remember that you are ultimately the person who writes the real story about you. Tell your story."

Over the next two days, the class tries to do that. Rozales leads them in a discussion about advocacy and different human rights efforts in the U.S. They then divide

into small groups, assigned with planning a strategy to make their voices heard.

"Our schools are always in the papers for doing bad things," says Nirmala Kandhai, a senior who wants to be a journalist. "Nobody looks at us for being kids that care." Her group has decided to alert the press to the school's lack of access for the disabled. Bilal Ishaq, a junior, explains the appeal of the grassroots activism. "It makes you feel better," he says, "knowing that you made a difference."

Arlene Gonzalez, who watched the trial with her planned career as a lawyer in mind, has urged her peers to come up with "something that's really big." They decide to write a letter to a local TV station, pushing it to do a story about conditions in the city's schools and students' support for the lawsuit.

Gonzalez, Melanie Rivera and Rebecca Coram debate the merits of which station to approach. Is Fox 5 better? Do more people watch Channel 7? Rivera remarks that on the previous night the school had the dubious distinction of showing up on every channel: A popular security guard had suffered a

fatal heart attack while trying to break up a fight. "We could write the same letter to all," she suggests, and so it's decided.

The three sit for a moment with that thought. They've got their method—now what? Then Coram remembers that in a few minutes she'll be facing a pile of plaster chunks. "Every day in my next period class the ceiling is on my desk," she complains. "And the bathrooms..." Rivera chimes in, and they're off. The list gets longer—the school isn't air-conditioned, they're using out-of-date textbooks and old computers, if any. No one has lockers, so students carry their coats and books from class to class.

Nothing on the list seems either sound or basic. The evidence is ample and the girls are on a brainstorming roll. But soon the bell rings, ending the period before they can draft their letter. The political strategizing will have to wait until first period tomorrow. ■

Joanna Cagan is a Manhattan-based freelance writer.



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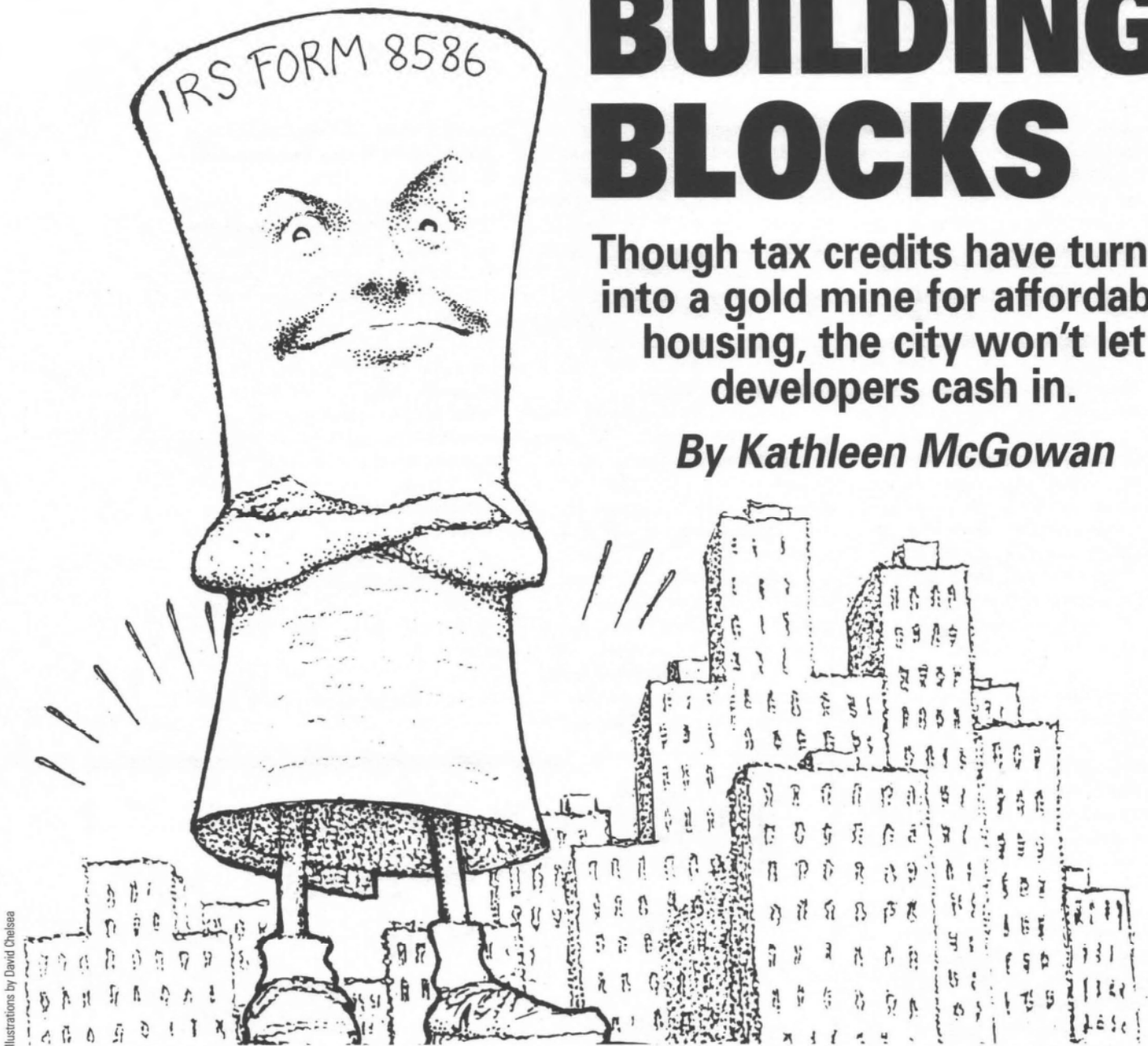
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BUILDING BLOCKS

Though tax credits have turned into a gold mine for affordable housing, the city won't let developers cash in.

By Kathleen McGowan



Illustrations by David Chelsea

It's everybody's favorite housing subsidy—in part, because it's just about the only one left. If you want to build cheap housing these days, you build tax credit housing. If you want to rehab buildings, you do it with the help of tax credits. Supportive housing, homes for the homeless, and nearly all the rehab done on city-owned buildings: all of it is driven by the market forces of tax credit financing.

Invisibly, tax credits have backed almost every affordable housing development project in the last decade. The city's two huge new single-room occupancy residences, the Times Square and the Prince George, were built with tax credits. All the thousands of apartments renovated under the city's two major rehab programs, the Neighborhood Entrepreneurs Program and the Neighborhood Redevelopment Program, are supported by tax credit money. Even redevelopment in Union Square is being underwritten this way. All in all, tax credits in New York City add up to more than \$100 million in investments each year—a substantial amount of money, considering that the city's entire housing development budget is \$219 million.

The program, created by the 1986 federal tax reforms, has built between 750,000 and a million cheap apartments and houses nationwide, and adds about 62,500 more units annually. Investors who were initially reluctant to put their money into housing for the poor are now fighting over the chance to invest in these projects, and competition means that more money goes into housing and less into investors' pockets. A decade ago, real estate investors would expect profits between 20 and 40 percent; now, returns sometimes slip into the single digits. In an era when housing subsidies have been political deadweight, this thriving program proves that private money can work for the public good.

But in the opinion of some of the city's nonprofit housing developers, it's just not capitalist enough.

About five years ago, New York City's housing agency decided that it would deal almost exclusively with the New York Equity Fund, a tax credit syndicator founded by the nation's two big nonprofit housing intermediaries, the Enterprise Foundation and the Local Initiatives Support Corporation (LISC). Since then, if your nonprofit housing development group wants to rehab city

buildings, you must work with the New York Equity Fund, and you must accept their terms.

In effect, it's a monopoly, and it offers one-size-fits-all monopoly pricing. Even though a big nonprofit with a precious piece of Lower East Side real estate could get much more money for its tax credits on the open market, the New York Equity Fund will offer it the same kind of deal as an unsophisticated new community group trying to develop part of East New York. Since that rate can be as much as 10 points below what the market might offer, the developer obliged to work with the Equity Fund rather than play the market might be missing out on between \$30,000 and \$50,000 for each project, money that could be plowed back into the development or reallocated to another one. It adds up: with tax credits accounting for about \$800 million in city-controlled development during the last decade, the missed opportunity is in the millions.

"It's a huge amount of money, and it's either going into their pockets or into their investors' pockets," says one developer who asked not to be named, for fear of jeopardizing his projects. "The reason they can do it is because [the city housing agency] gives them a monopoly, and they don't have to compete with anybody. The Equity Fund simply has not adapted to the market."

LISC and Enterprise were instrumental in making tax credit investments legitimate, in convincing investors to pony up money for these projects, and in coaching nonprofits on how to handle baffling tax and real estate paperwork. But a handful of New York City community developers now want to leave them behind. They want to dive into the sizzling private tax credit market, with its promises of more money, faster development, and chummier relationships with big banks. They want to take off the training wheels, but the city's Department of Housing Preservation and Development won't let them.

That's because the New York Equity Fund helps HPD as much as it helps community groups. The fund has a perfect track record—never has one of its projects failed. It is highly reputable, offering instant credibility with investors, technical expertise, and a deep commitment to affordable housing. The one thing it doesn't provide is access to the big bucks in today's hot tax credit market.

In the early days, investors were terrified of low-income housing tax credits. "You'd tell investors: we're working on homeless housing in the South Bronx with HIV-positive residents, and you'll need to commit to 15 years investment," laughs William Frey, Senior Vice President of the Enterprise Foundation. "The reaction was, 'Give me a break.'" Nonprofit developers agree that the reputation and technical skill of the intermediaries were instrumental in getting the programs running in New York State, which was an early leader in tax credit development.

And these projects needed lots of help in the beginning. Arranging tax credit deals is an arcane process that can scare off sensible investors and bewilder even sophisticated developers. The arrangements include strict compliance paperwork and menacing clauses, like provisions that hold nonprofits fully liable if projects fail.

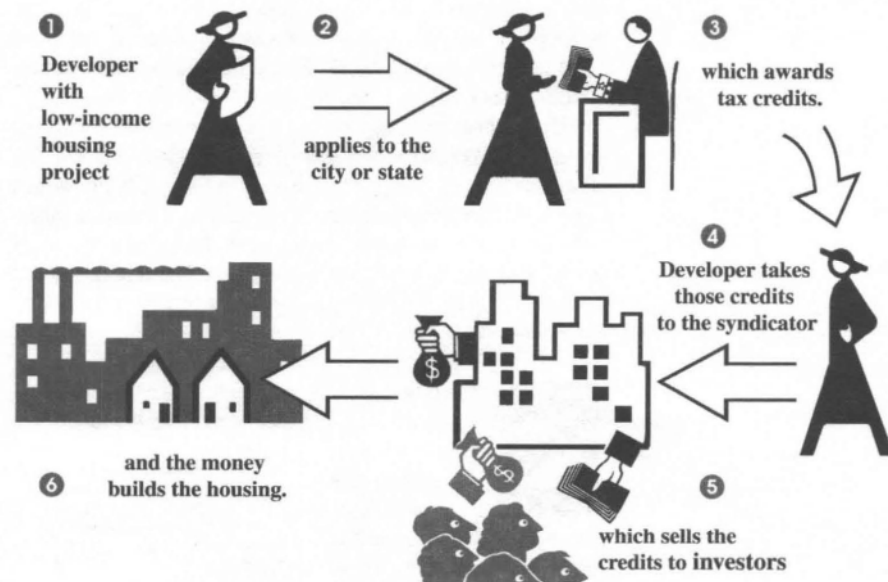
This powerful subsidy is driven by the fact that corporations want to find a way to escape the 35 percent federal tax rate. Investing in these low-income housing projects allows them to reduce their tax liability: for each credit that it buys for 50 to 80 cents, a

corporation can take a full dollar off its federal tax bill. Loosely speaking, that means that when a company invests \$500,000 into a development project, it can take \$625,000 to \$1 million off its taxes. For banks, it's an even better deal—because they are putting money into housing for poor people, they also get brownie points from regulators under the Community Reinvestment Act.

In the open market, a developer interested in doing a major rehab project begins by applying to the state for tax credits. For example, a builder planning a project budgeted at about \$2 million would apply for \$2 million worth of tax credits from the state. There are complex formulas that govern which projects can get the credits, but in general, 20 to 50 percent of a development's future tenants will have to make roughly half of their area's median income.

Then the developer shops these credits around trying to get the best possible deal, either directly from corporations and investors

HOW TAX CREDITS TURN INTO HOUSING



Nicole Davis

or through a syndicator that specializes in brokering these deals. The New York Equity Fund is one of these syndicators; others include nonprofits like the Enterprise Social Investment Corporation and LISC's National Equity Fund, and for-profits like Related Capital. These days, a developer could get around \$1.5 million in exchange for that \$2 million in tax credits. The investor then would be able to take about \$300,000 off his or her IRS bill in tax credits and depreciation for each of the next 15 years, for a total tax benefit of around \$3.5 million. In exchange, the developer gets regular infusions of cash.

When the program was new, wary investors wouldn't pay much more than 40 cents for each dollar in tax credits, and as buildings aged they could take depreciation losses each year. Together, those two tax breaks added up to a sweet deal. But from a policy standpoint, it was inefficient in those early years, costing the U.S. government \$6 billion in foregone tax revenue for the approximately \$3 billion it put into housing development between 1992 and 1994, according to a General Accounting Office estimate.

But in the long run, tax credits have paid off. First, they have

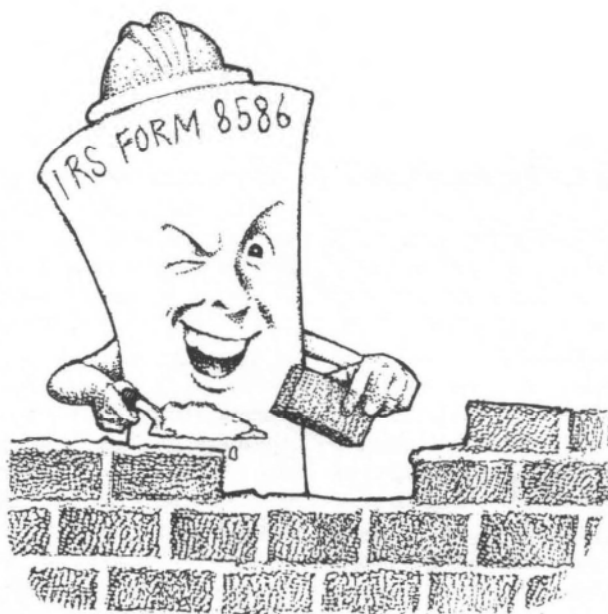
pushed corporations to invest in inner-city neighborhoods. And because they're funded with money the government forfeits rather than money that it must appropriate every year, Congress can't tinker with tax credits the way it does with other housing subsidies. By law, each state is guaranteed \$1.25 per capita in new funding every year, which adds up to a total of \$300 million annually in New York State.

And although that rate hasn't been increased since 1986, the money now goes further than it used to. Since those early days, the market price for a tax credit has nearly doubled, as investors have come to realize that the projects are both lucrative and reliable. Some developers are now getting as much as 85 cents on the dollar, says Richard Barnett of the National Land Advisory Group, a housing market analysis firm.

"It's become very aggressive, especially in the Northeast," agrees Paul Woollard, a managing director in First Union Bank's affordable housing group, which has about \$900 million invested in tax credit projects. "It's a good example of a maturing industry—the margins have compressed, and the pricing has come down." Woollard believes that for investors, prices have reached their natural limit. "Much beyond this," he observes, "it doesn't make economic sense."

But in New York City, tax credits are anything but high-flying—instead, they've become the backbone of a remarkably reliable funding pool for affordable housing. At the end of the 1980s, back in the early days of tax credits, the city government, together with LISC and Enterprise, pioneered a successful and prolific program that allowed nonprofit developers to fix up city-owned vacant buildings for formerly homeless tenants. Under this program, thousands of apartments were fixed up with tax credits, HPD loans and technical help from the New York Equity Fund.

It was successful in part because no matter who was doing the work or where the buildings were, the terms and the structures of the deals were the same, explains William Traylor, the managing director of the Equity Fund. From the city's point of view, that made



it simpler, safer and easier to administer.

The formula worked so well that the administration's two major rehab programs—NRP and NEP—were set up much the same way. The New York Equity Fund would structure the deals, supply up to half the money, provide technical support, and, in the case of NRP, help run the program. For a housing department that was losing much of its experienced staff to budget cuts, it was like a dream come true—reliable, free outsourcing. Traylor says that "about

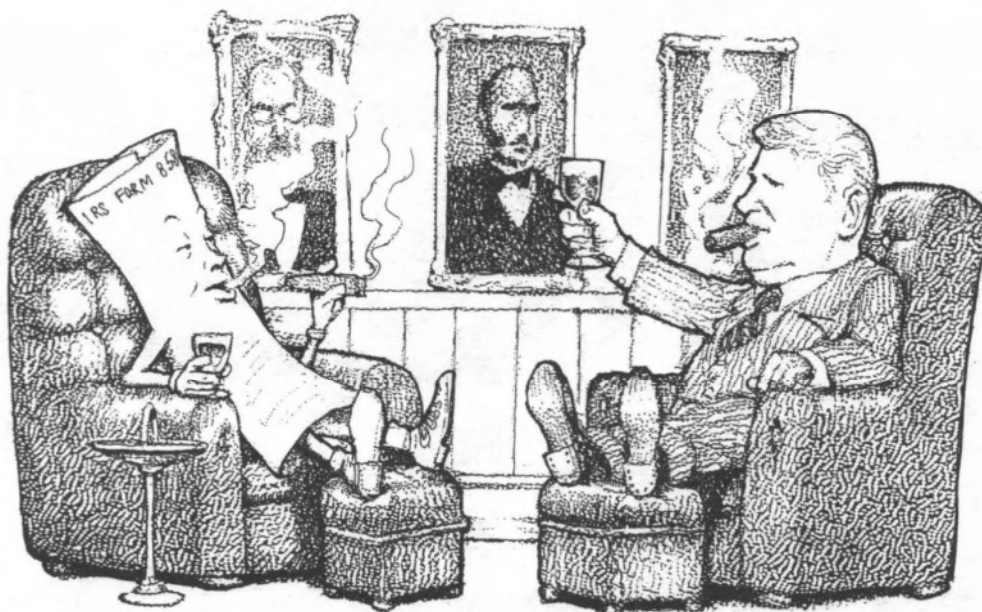
99 percent" of the New York Equity Fund's business has been through HPD.

But the trade-off was that LISC and Enterprise dictated the details of the deals, and they still do. That is what now frustrates some nonprofit developers, who say the New York Equity Fund hasn't kept up with the market.

For one thing, the Equity Fund has a lock on how reserves are invested. In each tax credit project, a substantial chunk of money is set aside in reserve for 15 years—for city-owned buildings, roughly \$300,000 to \$500,000, and for big supportive housing projects, up to \$4 or \$5 million. That adds up to hundreds of millions of dollars in reserve funds, and on HPD's direction, virtually all of it has been socked away in basic interest-bearing accounts at Banker's Trust. Community groups assert that if they could invest their own reserves with banks of their choosing, they could leverage the money to get better deals, more grants or cheaper loans.

"It robs us of the opportunity to develop larger and more meaningful relationships of our own with those financial institutions," says Mark Alexander, executive director of Hope Community, a large Harlem housing nonprofit. (Several prominent nonprofit developers privately agree with Alexander, but he is the only one willing to go on the record with criticisms of LISC and Enterprise.) "In some cases we're talking well over a million dollars. If the bank is earning \$50,000 a year off my accounts, they'll work the account. That's the capitalist way: Green pastures get tended." If they could also sink the money into other kinds of investments, say other developers, they could wind up





with more money—cash that could ultimately be plowed back into affordable housing.

In late 1999, LISC did launch a \$36 million mutual fund with Neuberger Berman that allows groups some flexibility to distribute their reserves between equities, corporate bonds and a money market account. "Our response grew out of what we heard from groups," says Traylor. Frey says that Enterprise may consider doing the same thing with its projects. But for a community group to shift its projects' reserves from this investment firm to Chase or Citibank, for example, is still out of the question.

And the amount of money developers can get for their credits is still a contentious issue. According to nonprofits who have worked with the New York Equity Fund, it pays builders rates from the upper 60s to the low 70s for every dollar it sells in tax credits. By comparison, the state housing agency, which also administers some tax credits, now has set a floor of 70 cents on the dollar for groups applying for tax credits. Their top rating is reserved for groups that have found investors that will pay more than 78 cents on the dollar.

"It's like the Mafia: they have to take their vigorish off the

top," says another longtime nonprofit developer. Undoubtedly, much of that money funds LISC and Enterprise's community development work. But investors are getting their share too—companies like Brooklyn Union Gas, Capital Cities/ABC and just about every major bank in the city. The New York Equity Fund, however, refuses to share information on the returns it offers to investors, and some developers charge that they are projecting returns well above market rate. Unlike a government program, the fund doesn't have to reveal how it allocates its money, leaving nonprofit builders to wonder how much of the money that could be put into housing is going to investors instead.

LISC and Enterprise respond that they are merely shielding nonprofit developers from the harsher winds of the free market. By offering the same kind of deal across the board, the New York Equity Fund's Traylor says, it is able to effectively subsidize newer groups while giving experienced developers a reliable if inflexible source of funding.

Leveling the playing field also means asking developers who have valuable real estate to forego any windfalls they could have

(continued on page 27)

EXTRA CREDITS

Tax credits became the hottest thing in housing because they provide something government never will—big pots of startup money. That structure has been successfully adapted to LISC's Retail Initiative, which gets investors to back urban shopping center projects, and is now being imported into the newest public/private push: welfare-to-work.

LISC and Seedco, two groups experienced at providing technical assistance to nonprofits, are now about to launch EarnFair, a for-profit limited liability corporation that will function like a public-minded temp service.

Taking advantage of a federal policy that offers tax cred-

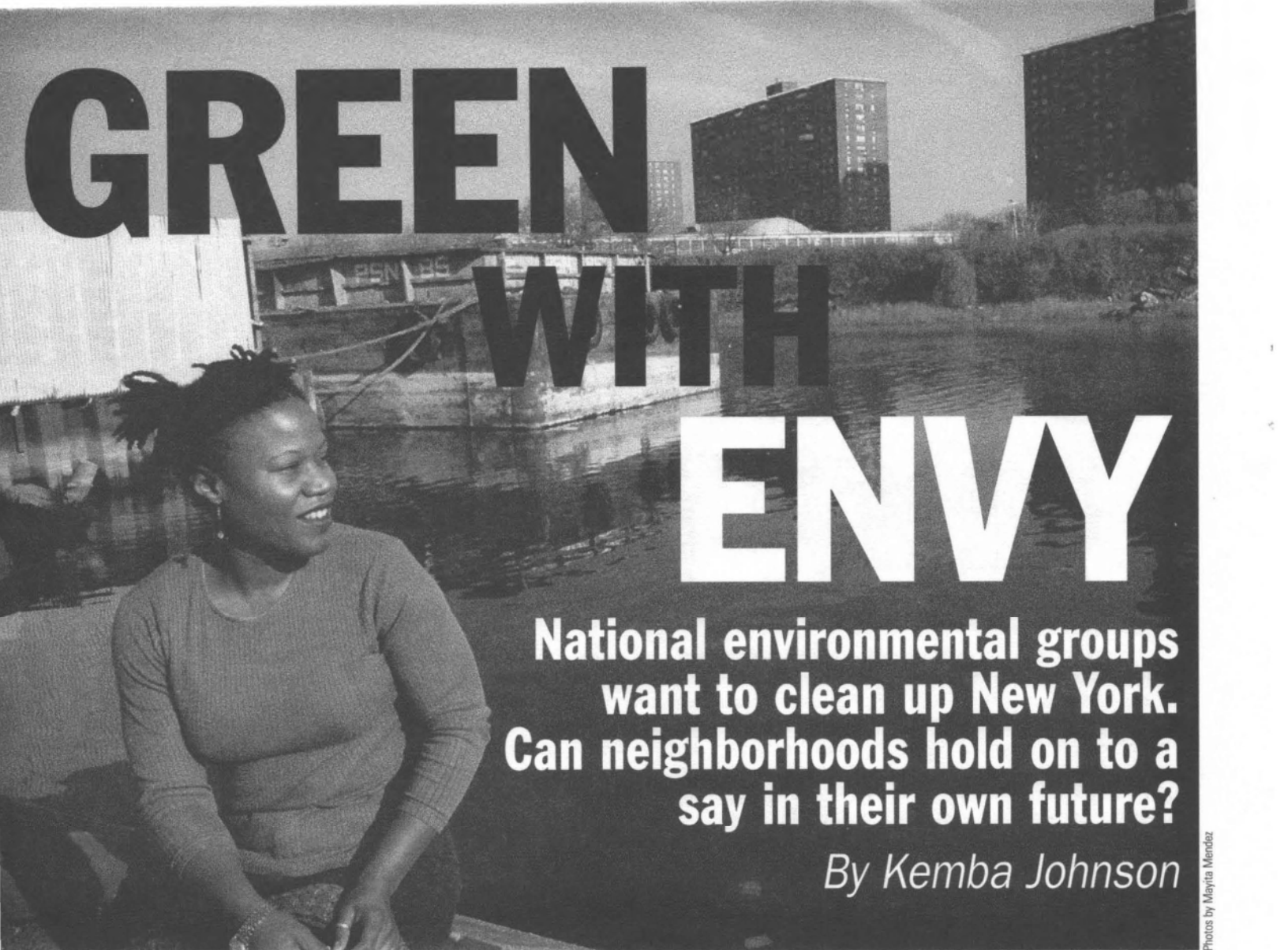
its to companies that hire people leaving the welfare rolls, LISC will syndicate those welfare-to-work tax credits, marketing them to investors. The proceeds will help underwrite wages and pay for fringe benefits for the new hires—services like case management, health benefits and child care.

"The notion is to create an organization that will maximize the resources available to low-wage workers, make sure they get the Earned Income Tax Credit advance, transitional welfare benefits, and whatever else they are entitled to," explains William Grinker, who runs Seedco.

The New York Community Trust and United Way were also involved in setting up the program, which is scheduled in launch in January.

—KM

GREEN WITH ENVY



National environmental groups want to clean up New York. Can neighborhoods hold on to a say in their own future?

By Kemba Johnson

When Marjora Carter found a patch of Bronx River bank, she helped plan a park by and for local residents. Now big eco-groups want a park there too—on their terms.

Considering that Hunts Point is on a peninsula, spotting a body of water shouldn't be a surprise. But last year, Marjora Carter was shocked to find herself doing something she never thought possible: walking her dog along the Bronx River. Along the perimeter of this largely Latino neighborhood, the waterfront belongs to industry, hosting the city's sprawling produce market, a sewage treatment plant and multiple trash stations.

But that day on Edgewater Road, Carter, who is project director at The Point Community Development Corporation, found herself staring at a bit of blue. "Oh my God—that's a river!" Carter remembers thinking, telling herself, "Well, if we've got a river we've got to make use of it." With members of her staff, she convinced the city Parks Department that this strip of asphalt along the river—a road to a bridge Robert Moses planned but never built—should be remade into a park. Now, the park plan is winding its way through the city's land use process. Meanwhile, Carter and neighborhood volunteers have already sponsored site clean-ups and community concerts.

So she was surprised to learn this summer from a friend that a new group called the Waterfront Park Coalition, assembled by the politically influential state chapter of the League of Conservation Voters, wanted to adopt and promote her project. Headed by some of the same players behind Manhattan's new Hudson River Park, the coalition spent this summer searching for promising community-generated ideas that might merit big-dollar investments from public and private funders. Its canvassers called borough presidents,

community boards and city agencies. But no one—not the coalition nor any of its member groups, which include the Natural Resources Defense Council (NRDC), Environmental Defense Fund (EDF), Trust for Public Land and the Open Space Institute—ever contacted Carter. "We were definitely not invited," she says.

It's a turf issue, and more than that: for Carter, as for many other city environmental activists, the purpose of fighting to improve neighborhoods isn't just to add another patch of green. "Environmental justice" is about building a movement—introducing ordinary people to the political process, and showing them how to assume control of their own neighborhoods. For the environmental justice crowd, when a statewide organization steps in and usurps a homegrown project, it takes the grassroots right out of the green.

This same coalition was inspecting and evaluating some 150 other projects citywide, including community-designed plans to build a beach in Jamaica Bay, create a park in Red Hook, and add waterfront access to the new port planned for Sunset Park, Brooklyn. Elizabeth Yeampierre, who as executive director of the group UPROSE worked closely with Sunset Park residents and the city on the port plan, didn't even know that the coalition was considering backing the project until she was contacted by *City Limits*. Like Carter, she resents the fact that these powerful outsiders want to take over the plan. "It's not a matter of having a park," she says. "It's *owning* a park—something that we worked for and will take care of. Not some missionary that came in and gave us a park."

Photos by Mayra Mendez

Environmental justice has emerged both nationally and locally as the civil rights of the 1990s: a movement in which organized communities fight deeply entrenched discrimination. For UPROSE, The Point, and roughly a dozen other like-minded groups around the city, that means making sure that low-income communities don't get stuck with the pollutants, trash and trucks that other parts of the city don't want. At the same time, these groups have spent years trying to help those neighborhoods get the parks they need. The strategies are intensely urban, more Saul Alinsky than John Muir, including organizing neighborhood residents to hold political players accountable for garbage stations, incinerators, air pollution and other scourges that get dumped on poorer communities.

"We want to go to the root causes of environmental burdens," says Leslie Lowe, executive director of the New York City Environmental Justice Alliance, a coalition of 12 neighborhood groups from all over the city. "We may shut down a waste transfer station here or power plants there. But if the community isn't empowered, how can it prevent it the next time?"

Now the environmental justice movement may be suffering from its own success, as bigger and better-funded national environmental organizations start to get involved in the city. Ironically, it was the city organizations themselves that pleaded with the big groups for years to get involved.

Waterfront parks aren't the only environmental justice cause big greens have adopted in the last three years. Last May, the Trust for Public Land rescued 63 community gardens from the auction block. NRDC has fought to clean up contaminated industrial sites for redevelopment. EDF has pushed for sane garbage disposal policies. Even the local chapter of the Sierra Club now lobbies for open space in poor communities. Just as local advocates have pushed for community control, the big greens focus on what they know best: working the political process. They, too, want to green New York City—just not necessarily at the grassroots.

As these national groups have begun to get involved in urban neighborhoods, city activists say they are getting pushed aside. "White mainstream organizations are going into communities of color without working in respectful cooperation with community organizations," charges Lowe. "That's reprehensible."

These big organizations traditionally stress environmental conservation and politically planned solutions. Community organizations, on the other hand, think first of a neighborhood as a whole, appreciating the delicate balance between the environment, economic stability, and, most importantly, the people who live there. Where the local groups once spoke for local concerns, regulators

and legislators in Washington and Albany increasingly turn to national organizations for advice on what neighborhoods need. City groups fear that soon, neighborhoods will lose their hard-won right to be players in their own destinies.

"It's a good thing that certain mainstream environmental groups are starting to get interested," says Jeff Jones, communications director of Environmental Advocates, an Albany-based lobbying group. "But it's also important that community groups remain in leadership, because the national groups are not always going to get it right. It's a problem if the big groups that have a strong relationship with politicians become *the* voices on this."

The big environmental groups focus on what they know best: working the political process. They, too, want to green New York City—just not at the grassroots.

The establishment greens and the city's environmental justice groups have one thing in common: the last three years have been good ones. But those triumphs also make it clear why, despite the shared cause, these two movements remain worlds apart.

When the city announced in 1996 that it planned to close the Fresh Kills landfill and replace it with a system of waste transfer stations, environmental justice advocates got to work. Through the Organization for Waterfront Neighborhoods (OWN), a coalition of 26 community groups, they mobilized nearly 4,000 residents in Brooklyn, the South Bronx and Upper Manhattan to attend demonstrations and hearings. One reason OWN could muster such a turnout, huge by community organizing standards, was a strategy of unity: With members all over the city, OWN vowed not to let the city pit neighborhoods against one another. "You know how people say 'not in my backyard'?" Well, we don't want this in anyone's backyard," says Eddie Bautista, who is on OWN's steering committee.

Using classic grassroots tactics, OWN successfully lobbied to get members on the task forces that were planning life after Fresh Kills. OWN's overtures to the city and state were repeatedly rebuffed, so it turned to the Environmental Protection Agency's environmental justice program. When residents testified at public hearings about the stink of mishandled garbage, EPA officials listened, then pressured New York City to comply with public review requirements for waste transfer stations. "Having people in the community talking about it in stark terms, you just can't ignore it anymore," says Mathy Stanislaus, co-chair of the Minority Environmental Lawyers Association and president of NYCEJA's board.

In contrast, the groups that formed the Hudson River Park Alliance—among them NRDC, EDF and the League of Conservation Voters—are accustomed to working from the inside. From the beginning, the alliance lobbied city and state lawmakers to pass the legislation creating the park, getting a \$200 million com-



Through her Harlem organization, Peggy Shepard is revitalizing the uptown waterfront. But other environmentalists charge she is also selling neighborhoods up the river.

mitment from the mayor and governor to build it. Big-ticket private concessions, including the Chelsea Piers complex, also subsidize the park.

At the Hudson River Park project, community input came only at the end of the process. "It started with the alliance and governor and mayor, then became an open process with public hearings," says Andy Darrell, who was executive director of the alliance. At those hearings, West Siders worried that the ad hoc management and financing of the park would leave no one accountable for its upkeep. In response, the alliance told them that the current plan was the best hope they had for getting anything done.

Darrell now heads the Waterfront Park Coalition, which hopes to work the same transformation on other neglected stretches of waterfront. Community input, says Darrell, will come later. As with Hudson River Park, the coalition's mission is to first amass the political and professional muscle to back parks and preserves. "Now we're building out," Darrell explains. "We're looking at how these groups which have a citywide, statewide or nationwide focus can help support community efforts to create parkland."

Most national environmental organizations have their roots in the conservation of species and habitats—think Teddy Roosevelt or the California condor. Then in 1990, an Albuquerque-based organization called the SouthWest Organizing Project issued a call to arms. In a letter to the nation's major environmental groups, the organization pointed out that some of the biggest problems facing low-income communities—such as high concentrations of polluting industries in low-income areas—were inescapably environmental issues and needed to be addressed as such by green organizations. It didn't help, the letter noted, that eco-groups had precious few people of color at their board tables and in their offices.

Mainstream environmentalists have also embraced urban clean-up as part of the effort to attract people back to the city, and prevent suburban sprawl from devouring rural areas. That's a driving mission for the Trust for Public Land, which has worked to promote New York community gardens since 1978. "Making cities more livable is not only good for people in cities—it's also good to help neutralize sprawl," says Andy Stone, director of the

Trust's New York City program. "That is part of our philosophical underpinning."

For other groups, environmental justice was a sensible next step. New York City-based NRDC has had an urban environment program since the early 1980s. Initially, the program mostly worked on public transit and air pollution, later adding waste reduction and recycling. But only in the last two years—in response to urging from community activists—has NRDC specifically fought the siting of waste transfer stations in communities of color. It turned out to be a natural fit. "Anyone interested in the planet and the environment has to make a connection between making cities work and keeping up the environment's health," says senior staff attorney Eric Goldstein.

But when NRDC first tried to take a page out of the environmental justice playbook—balancing jobs, the environment and people—it found that getting neighborhood buy-in takes far more than good intentions. Its proposal was to build a paper recycling mill in the South Bronx that promised at least 275 full-time jobs and about \$6 million in community services. The plant's developers even hired a local community development organization, Banana Kelly, to do outreach. It should have been a winner.

Bronx residents, though, were fed up with industry and didn't care who was sponsoring it. While they welcomed jobs, they also wanted information that wasn't forthcoming—and, fundamentally, respect. "They're coming in saying, 'Take my word for it. It's a good [project].'" Carlos Padilla of the South Bronx Clean Air Coalition complained when the project was first announced. "It might very well be. But we just want the facts." Six years later, some OWN member groups are still fighting the mill.

For environmental justice activists and the eco-establishment, no territory is more fraught with dissension than brownfields. Cleanup and redevelopment of toxic industrial land has become an urgent conservation issue for the national organizations, because the sites are both an environmental scourge and an opportunity to rebuild in already-developed areas, alleviating sprawl. Many of these parcels languish in poor and predominantly nonwhite neighborhoods, making them an equally big priority for community-based groups.

While New York has committed \$200 million in Environmental Bond Act funds to make it easier for developers to reclaim brownfields, lawmakers have been deadlocked for years, unable to pass the laws that would make cleanup legally and financially feasible. Who should pay to clean such sites—a property's owner, the prospective buyer, or the state? How far should the clean-ups go? As the state Superfund program for environmental cleanup runs out of money, solving these critical questions has become urgent business. But though city groups have worked hard to have a say in a brownfields law, they've found themselves outflanked on one side by hardcore environmentalists and on the other by political dealmakers.

At a conference in late 1998, environmentalists, business inter-

ests, municipalities, urban planners and environmental justice advocates from across the state met to develop a model brownfields bill. Community organizations struggled to convince the major green groups that cleanup regulations had to be made easier to comply with, particularly if they expected redevelopers to adopt sites in poor areas. "They were looking at it from a conservationist point of view—'We want to clean up as much as possible,'" says Stanislaus. "We had to work through that in a real back and forth, challenging them. We had to make them understand that the status quo meant leaving poor communities behind."

In some cases, local reps argued, environmentalists would have to lower clean-up standards—proposing, for example, that groundwater under city brownfields shouldn't have to be made clean enough to drink in neighborhoods that get their drinking water from upstate reservoirs. The roundtable also developed innovative ideas for giving neighborhoods a say in brownfields, including a fund for grants and loans to build public projects, such as community centers, on sites that can't lure private investors.

But by the time the legislation was finished, NRDC had bowed out, complaining that the plan didn't guarantee sites would be clean enough. "The proposal came up short on clean-up of brownfield sites," says Mark Izeman, NRDC's representative at the talks. "In our view it had some positive points, but it raises concerns about public health and the environment in the long term."

Then the League of Conservation Voters jumped ship for a version put forward by Governor George Pataki. Founded in 1989 by Robert F. Kennedy Jr. and other prominent environmentalists as a nonpartisan lobbying group, the League endorsed Pataki in 1998 and has developed a consistent record of pressing for politically palatable solutions. LCV board chair Paul Elston says he supported the governor's measure—which lacked the strong community involvement mandated by the conference's bill—because it had the best chance of passing. "There's no guarantee [the conference's] legislation will make it into the final bill," Elston says. "It's not the governor—it's citizens. That's different than [Assembly Speaker] Sheldon Silver putting it forth."

After stalling in 1999, brownfields are likely to prevail in Albany this year. But with one influential ally sidelined and another pushing a competing plan, environmental justice groups are going in with dimmed hopes of getting the bill they believe neighborhoods need.

If anyone was in a position to bridge the gap between political work and community concerns, it was Peggy Shepard. As executive director of West Harlem Environmental Action, Shepard had secured the grant

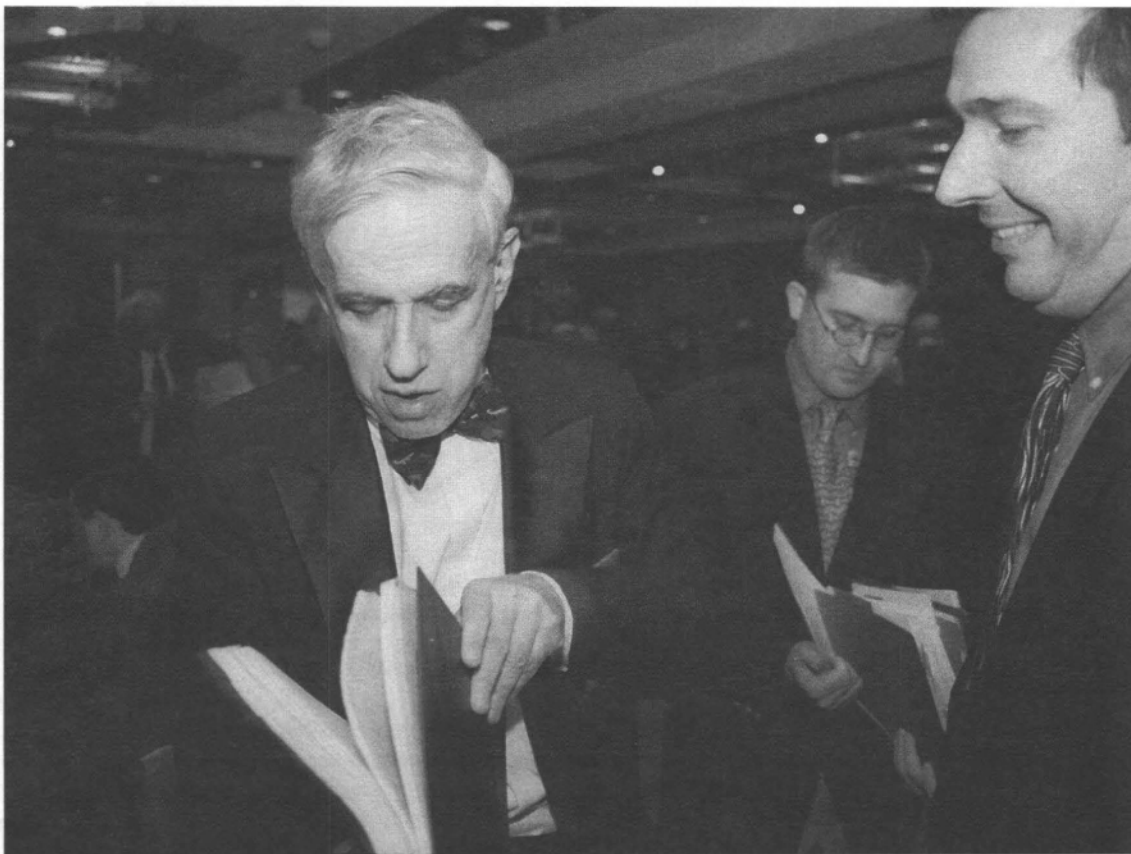
five years ago to hire the first executive director for the New York City Environmental Justice Alliance (NYCEJA). Alone among NYCEJA members, Shepard was equally at home in neighborhood-based work and Albany corridors: a former Democratic district leader, she has also served on the board of directors for the New York League of Conservation Voters for the last eight years. In addition, Shepard's Harlem group is participating in the Waterfront Park Coalition, the only community organization invited. Its plan to redevelop the Hudson River shore near 125th Street is a leading contender for the Coalition's support.

As a League board member, Shepard has pushed to make sure urban environmental issues get taken seriously. But her former NYCEJA allies charge that in the process of seeking greater influence for the League in Albany, she has helped close doors for New York City's community-based organizations. Out of this conflict Shepard has emerged as a controversial symbol of the persistent gulf between the local and national groups, and between grassroots and political environmental advocacy.

NYCEJA and Shepard had long had differences over the group's purpose. Most NYCEJA members don't focus entirely on environmental work: El Puente, for example, runs a school and community center in Williamsburg, while The Point hosts arts and youth programs. So while the alliance's leadership wanted to maintain a broad commitment to community revitalization, Shepard, along with a few other NYCEJA members, backed a strictly environmental focus.

That debate has since been dwarfed by acrimonious personal and political disagreements. While running for re-election in 1998, Governor Pataki was also pushing the EPA to withdraw a

At a November Windows on the World benefit, city parks commissioner Henry Stern was among the power players backing big environmental groups' efforts to remake the city's shores.



new directive that requires states to review whether major new public projects, such as sewage treatment plants, have a disproportionate impact on minority communities. Shepard, appalled, refused to endorse Pataki. And without her support the League wasn't prepared to endorse him, either.

That's when League board chairman Paul Elston arranged in a few days what city groups had spent years angling for: a meeting with the state Department of Environmental Conservation specifically devoted to environmental justice issues. Shepard says it was Elston's pull with the governor that did the trick. "Unfortunately, the reason is that Paul Elston helped raise the money for the Environmental Bond Act when it was the governor's pet project," Shepard says. "The world works that way, but state agencies should not work that way."

As a result of that meeting, the DEC established an environmental justice advisory group. Shepard joined it, the only community-based advocate on the board, and withdrew her objections, allowing the League to endorse Pataki. Meanwhile, other members of NYCEJA didn't even know that the advisory group existed until NYCEJA's Leslie Lowe and other environmental justice supporters wrote DEC asking whether the agency intended to honor the new federal regulations. Lowe was assured the problem was being addressed—by NRDC and the League. NYCEJA members were outraged that Shepard hadn't told them.

This summer, the friction between Shepard and other alliance members came to a head when Shepard launched an inquiry into executive director Lowe's contract terms. (At issue was a provision granting the board the option of raising Lowe's salary in tandem with successful fundraising efforts.) When Shepard refused to back down, NYCEJA voted to suspend West Harlem Environmental Action.

Shepard still thinks her former allies were being shortsighted, even a little petty. She insists the League and NRDC are trying to make big things happen, not step on community organizations' toes. "They're not an environmental justice group and they don't pretend to be," she says of the major green groups. The roles of the two sides, she believes, are clear and distinct: The major groups "don't network locally. You want that kind of organizing being done by people who live there."

Environmental justice groups agree that their local work, not their Albany connections, is their greatest strength. But they also point out that neighborhoods lose out when their own advocates don't have access to political decision-makers. As they have done in New York's garbage

wars, those residents are the ones who can let regulators know what it's like to live with headaches, asthma, or an unbearable stink, or what it means to not have a decent park to play in.

On the way to securing \$3.25 million in state funding for urban open space last year, the Sierra Club's Atlantic chapter may have invented a model for how lobbyists and locals can team up. It joined forces with the Greenpoint-Williamsburg Watchperson Project, a community organization that catalogues and fights environmental hazards, and had kids from the neighborhood do the talking.

The project began informally at the beginning of 1999, when Sierra Club legislative director John Stouffer asked Watchperson executive director Samara Swanston if she knew of any projects that the Sierra Club could back in Albany. The two groups had started working together a couple of years ago, trying to turn the Eastern District Terminal site in Williamsburg into a park. This time around, they decided to press for Environmental Bond Act money for urban open spaces, which communities could tap into at their own discretion.

In July, Stouffer made appointments with staff members of leading state legislators, including Assembly environmental committee chair Richard Brodsky. Swanston then brought 10 kids, ages 9 to 16, up from the city to ask the staffers for funding. The kids, says Swanston, won them over by boldly asking what happened to the money the state promised them from the Environmental Bond Act. Says Stouffer, "It was the most productive meeting that I've had out of those folks." Ultimately, the spending proposal made it through.

Next, the Sierra Club plans to work with Swanston to seek out other local groups interested in developing waterfront parks. The chapter intends to help them get the money, support and know-how to do it—on their own. Stouffer is well aware of the Water-

front Park Coalition but isn't interested in what they're offering. "There's a difference in the two projects. We are going to the community and saying, what's your vision for the waterfront?" he says. "We help achieve them, as opposed to starting from a plan and working from the top down."

In her years of working in Williamsburg and Greenpoint, this could be the best opportunity Swanston has yet had to get large numbers of local residents involved in their environment. She says she can't wait. "They may not be organized and pushing for this," she says of New Yorkers who live near waterfronts they rarely see. "But if you ask them if they want to be on the waterfront—that's a no-brainer." ■

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Subtraction Lesson

As school choice shuts down a struggling junior high, Chelsea families ask where they belong.

By Matthew Strozier

Magdalena Silva sent her first child to Intermediate School 70 in the late 1980s. Over the course of the last decade, she has sent five others to the school, around the corner from her apartment on Eighth Avenue in Chelsea. Her youngest son, Carlos, an eighth grader, will graduate next June, making him the last child in the family to attend I.S. 70.

He will also be one of the last in the city to go to that school. Provided a widely supported resolution is passed by the local board on November 30, I.S. 70 will be shuttered for good come June. The remaining students—there are only about 125—will be “rezoned” with a guaranteed spot next year at a school across town, Middle School 104 on East 21st Street.

There just aren’t enough kids to keep I.S. 70 open, and the ones who are left are doing poorly. The number of students has dwindled steadily during the last decade, and this year the sixth grade class was eliminated because almost no one enrolled. In a high-performing school district, test scores are embarrassingly low. Many factors have contributed to the school’s decline—it has few programs, poor students, and borders several housing projects. But the reason the school will be closing for good is

simple: under District 2’s 10-year-old middle school choice program, every student had the option of going somewhere else.

Although District 2’s system is new, New York City’s high school students have had a school choice system in one form or another since the 1970s. Eighth-graders getting ready for high school can apply to nearly any school citywide, and they are only guaranteed a spot at one local school. Manhattan’s District 2 was one of the first to introduce this system for middle-school kids, but since then, the Board of Education has phased in some version of a choice system for nearly all students citywide.

The version of school choice brought in by former District 2 superintendent Anthony Alvarado was intended to allow parents to select their children’s schools, as well as push administrators to keep standards and spirits high in order to hold onto students. Any school that couldn’t cope, like I.S. 70, would eventually have to close, a loser in the educational marketplace.

In New York, an unusually broad alliance backs school choice, from activist community groups like ACORN to conservative voucher proponents. Now, with the closing of I.S. 70, New York has an opportunity to see what happens—for better or worse—when school choice works the way it is designed to. For

“I think they are kicking us out because we are poor,” says PTA co-president Barbara Springs, here with son Gregory.



I.S. 70, with low test scores and dwindling enrollment, was Chelsea's school of last resort.

some educators, administrators and policy experts, what has happened at I.S. 70 is evidence that school choice has succeeded. "The parents voted with their feet because the school wasn't doing a good job," says Beth Lief, president of New Visions for Public Schools, which promotes specialized small schools. "I think this shows that [choice] is working."

Yet casualties like I.S. 70 testify that the logic of school choice, by which schools must flourish or flounder, deprives schools of resources just when their students need them most. "Tony Alvarado created some schools that are really, really good, but he wasn't able to sprinkle fairy dust on all of them," says Clara Hemphill, who has just published a book on New York's middle schools. "There are still some orphans out there, and I.S. 70 is one of them."

For many of the parents, teachers and students who must now cope with this change, the benefits of closing their school down are not so clear. Some, like Silva, simply think it's unfair that 12-year-olds may now have to take the bus or subway simply to go to school. "I always thought it was a good school," she says. Other parents worry that their kids will get lost at M.S. 104, which has over a thousand students.

The reality they already face is that some parents at M.S. 104 have made it clear that they don't want the kids from crosstown. At meetings in November, many of those parents fretted that their school will lose its "cachet" if it is forced to take on these new students.

The unfortunate truth is that under this version of school choice, someplace has to become the school of last resort, taking in the children that can't find any other place to go. That may have been what destroyed Chelsea's I.S. 70. And that's what the parents of M.S. 104 fear.

In a city known for dysfunctional and corrupt school districts, District 2 is a shining exception. It has a nationally recognized professional development program for teachers, and test scores for low-performing students have improved dramatically during the last decade. In 1991, 22 percent of students in the district scored in the bottom quartile on city reading tests. By 1997, that percentage was down to 10 percent. No

other district in the city has come close.

I.S. 70, however, has always lagged behind. The number of kids who perform at grade level on math and reading tests has consistently trailed citywide averages by 10 to 20 percent, even after the choice system was put in place. Some teachers at I.S. 70—many of whom have been there since the school opened in 1966—say the scores fail to reflect students' improvement. They report that they get barely literate students and bring them up to fourth or fifth grade level. "It doesn't show how much you've improved them, it just shows that you have kids below grade level," says Ken Goodfriend, who has taught at the school since it opened.

The school has been losing students for a while. The zone that I.S. 70 falls in is racially and economically mixed, with middle-class families from Greenwich Village and poor families from the Chelsea housing projects, many of whom are black or Latino. But for the most part, I.S. 70 never did attract many white students from Greenwich Village.

The choice system merely sped up that process of attrition. Many of those kids who had remained in the public system now skipped over I.S. 70 for the successful "option" schools next door, the Lab School for Collaborative Studies and the Museum School. In 1987, before choice was instituted, there were 600 students at I.S. 70. Ten years later, there were 272.

"Because of school choice, kids were going elsewhere," says Goodfriend. "They were not going to their neighborhood school." Those who did enroll at I.S. 70—kids who couldn't get into other schools or simply wanted to go to school nearby—often had low test scores. "It became a snowball effect. All you were attracting, all you were getting in, were kids with lower scores."

As the school lost students, it lost programs. At the end of last year, the music, art and bilingual programs were eliminated for lack of students. Originally, there were seven industrial shops, says Goodfriend, but last year, the remaining two—print and pottery—closed. "Students drive the budget," explains Joyce Yuen-Toy, principal of I.S. 70. "If you don't have the students, then you can't offer the programs."

Just as the textbook model of school choice would predict,

I.S. 70's inadequacies became more glaring as parents gave up on the school and enrollment went into freefall. Karen Feuer, president of School Board 2, says that choice "highlighted" the problems at I.S. 70 four or five years ago. She says the school board probably should have closed the school back then.

So for administrators, the decision to shut it down was straightforward. According to Feuer, closing I.S. 70 will prevent more students from attending a failing school, and give current students there a better chance. "They will end up in better schools," she declares, pointing out that I.S. 70 has become racially and educationally segregated, and that students should be given the opportunity to attend "schools with more of a mix of kids."

District spokesperson Andrew Lachman puts it most bluntly. "If you didn't have choice, then you are forcing the least powerful to go to a school that is not performing," he says. Under this system, "if a school is not performing, then we shut it down."

In October, the students at I.S. 70 learned about their fate at an all-school assembly called to elect a new student government. Before nominations were announced, Yuen-Toy, the principal, told them this would be their last year at the school. "A lot of them were very quiet," Yuen-Toy says.

While both parents and students admit that their school has had problems, a lot of them aren't happy with the idea of giving up on it altogether. Many of them feel that the decision to shut down this school was just an extension of the second-class treatment that I.S. 70 has always suffered.

"I think the city overlooks the school," says I.S. 70 eighth-grader Shante Watkins. "They look at us as animals."

"I think it is a good school, but it could use a lot more programs," says Shante Watkins, an eighth-grader who has been at I.S. 70 since sixth grade. "I think the city overlooks the school. They don't pay attention to us. If you look at the reading scores, they are very low. Look at the location of the school: It's right across the street from the projects. Many people, they don't look at us as regular individuals. They look at us as animals."

In addition, teachers and parents worry that the kids won't be able to handle life at the bigger school across town. "We feel angry about what is happening to us as teachers, but we feel worse about what is happening to the kids," says Susan Scron, who has taught at I.S. 70 since 1967. "For some of our kids, this is their second home. They feel more comfortable here than they do at their house." At bigger schools, she says, "these are the kinds of kids that are going to get lost."

At M.S. 104, parents are worried their school will lose its "cachet" with an influx of West Side students.



Some of the parents want their kids to be given priority to get into Lab and Museum, the other schools in the building. The district says it won't do that but that it will give students extra help in deciding which schools are appropriate for them.

Ultimately, that won't satisfy parents who simply don't want to see a neighborhood institution vanish. "I would like it to stay this size and go on," says Barbara Springs, co-president of the I.S. 70 Parent-Teacher Association and a parent of a seventh-grader, Gregory. "I think they are kicking us out because we are poor. We are in the projects, so the stereotype is that we don't care."

Crosstown, the debate about how to handle the I.S. 70 kids has been heating up. In tense closed-door meetings, M.S. 104 parents have aggressively lobbied against the rezoning proposal that would guarantee the West Side kids a spot at their school.

Minutes after sitting down in the school's well-kept library at one November Parent Teacher Association meeting, parents began venting their worries: that the school will become even more crowded, that its mix of high- and low-performing students could be unbalanced. Under a much-criticized formula, the city Board of Education says M.S. 104 is at 81 percent of capacity. Parents, on the other hand, say their school is already overcrowded and can't accommodate the 125 kids from across town.

"You could jam 1,200 kids in that school, but it wouldn't be the same quality education," said Maryann Stimmer, the outspoken co-president of the PTA. "It wouldn't be the same school."

Race, as always, is a major subtext. Many of the Chelsea kids who would be coming to this school are black or Latino; although the student body at M.S. 104 is well integrated, most of the parents at this meeting are white.

It becomes a flashpoint in the restructuring debates. At a November school board meeting a week later, District 2 Superintendent Elaine Fink said some M.S. 104 parents bordered on racism when they complained their school would lose its status if it took on too many West Side kids. Douglas Robinson, the only black member of board, agreed. "I was deeply alarmed by some of the comments made by parents at 104," Robinson says during the meeting, his voice rising. "In 1999, it should not even be about that."

Stimmer says the accusations of racism made her "furious." Stimmer acknowledges that a few parents may have made racist remarks at meetings, but says they weren't speaking for the parents' association. She says that she and other parents' association leaders are worried that their school won't get the resources to handle the influx of low-performing students from I.S. 70.

What is particularly galling for many of the parents is that the proposal continues to enforce a two-tiered choice system. When MS 104's zone expands over to the West Side, it will be obliged to offer all students in that area a seat. Option schools, which are allowed to have rigorous admissions requirements, can be much pickier.

Some education experts point out that this arrangement undercuts what school choice is supposed to do: offer all students the same opportunities. "When you have a mixed system—zone schools and choice schools—then probably the peo-

M.S. 104 parents fear the least desirable students will end up at their school. "The way it is now," says one, "children who are average or below average are not going to get in" elsewhere.

ple whose kids are left in the zone schools are the most disadvantaged families," says Norm Fruchter, director of Institute for Education and Social Policy at New York University. "Choice favors advantaged families."

M.S. 104 parents fear that the least desirable students from the district will end up at their school. "The way it is now, children who are average or below average are not going to get into [option] schools," says Lisa Crystal, a parent at M.S. 104. "They don't want them." These parents lobbied their administrators for a zone-free district, so that kids wouldn't get sent by default to M.S. 104. District 4, which pioneered middle school choice, has been set up this way, so that no school there is an official school of last resort.

But while district superintendent Elaine Fink eventually acceded to some of their demands, like promising to re-evaluate the setup if M.S. 104 becomes deluged with "zone" students, the parents couldn't get the board to consider unzoning the district.

"I think that children that live in a neighborhood should have a right to go to a neighborhood school," Fink insists.

I.S. 70 parents agree, saying all they want for their children is the chance to go to a local school. PTA co-president Springs says she is uncomfortable with a system that may force her to send her kids to a school out of the neighborhood. "I don't want my kid to have to take the subway or the bus because I still feel he has to mature," she says. "I just don't trust it."

And students, even ones who are graduating, say they will miss the neighborhood intimacy of I.S. 70. "It's not right because people have been going to that school for three years and now it is closing," says eighth-grader Yolanda Gilchrist, as she stood outside school one day with her friends. The students may be getting the chance to go to a better school, but they might have instead preferred that I.S. 70 become a better one. ■

Matthew Strozier is a Manhattan-based freelance writer.

Credit Raiding

AMMO

Advocates for the poor are finding one way to stay effective in the unforgiving 1990s: instead of pushing for programs, they're backing tax relief to low-income families. A report from the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities documents how a growing number of states are enacting earned income tax credits, modeled after the 25-year-old federal EITC.

The EITC provides up to \$3,816 to families with two or more children earning up to \$30,000 a year, and it's credited with lifting 4.3 million families out of poverty. Now 11 states, and Montgomery County in Maryland, have their own EITCs, seven having started or expanded them in the last two years alone. These programs typically piggyback on, or pay a percentage of, the federal credit.

The EITC's growing appeal comes as welfare reform makes assistance to working families urgent, while states, flush with record tax hauls, have plenty of money to give. New rules even allow states to use welfare funds to pay for an EITC.

While some states approved their EITC as part of global tax cuts, others specifically sought relief for the poor—in Maryland, it was religious groups that pushed the legislature. But success hasn't been universal: The New York City Council's attempt to pass a local EITC was rebuffed by Albany.

"A Hand Up: How State Earned Income Tax Credits Help Working Families Escape Poverty," by Nicholas Johnson, \$7 plus \$2 shipping & handling, free on web site, www.cbpp.org, Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, 202-408-1080.

Dead Start

It was 10 years ago that prekindergarten became a hot political issue, when President Bush and the nation's governors announced that getting more kids, and especially poor kids, into pre-K programs was a national goal. According to the Children's Defense Fund, some states have kept that promise, funding pre-K at record levels, while others lag dangerously behind.

Since 1991, national spending on prekindergarten has boomed, from \$700 million to \$1.7 billion, and the number of

kids participating has swelled from 290,000 to 725,000. Quality has improved as well.

However, while 42 states fund pre-K, New York is one of just 10 states that represent three-quarters of all spending, a share out of proportion with their population. Nationwide, only 36 percent of kids between ages 3 and 5 living in families with incomes below \$15,000 are enrolled in pre-K today. Hoping to build on what has been accomplished, the report provides a blueprint for quality programs, including suggestions for curricula, monitoring, staffing and funding.

"Seeds of Success: State Prekindergarten Initiatives, 1998-1999," by Helen Blank, Karen Schulman and Danielle Ewen, \$9.95 plus \$2 shipping & handling, Children's Defense Fund, 202-662-3652 or cdforders@childrensdefense.org.

Wages 101

Nationwide, executive pay is 419 times higher than what workers like janitors or food servers make. If there's any place where the living wage movement should be able to find a seat, argues United for a Fair Economy, it's in college classrooms and cafeterias. To help fair wages scale the ivory tower, the Boston-based group has produced a step-by-step guide to fighting for pay justice on campus.

Among the potential sources of help it identifies are professors, unions, elected officials and local media. The campus environment, the manual notes, provides many tools for making a campaign work, including existing student groups, social issues classes and sympathetic faculty.

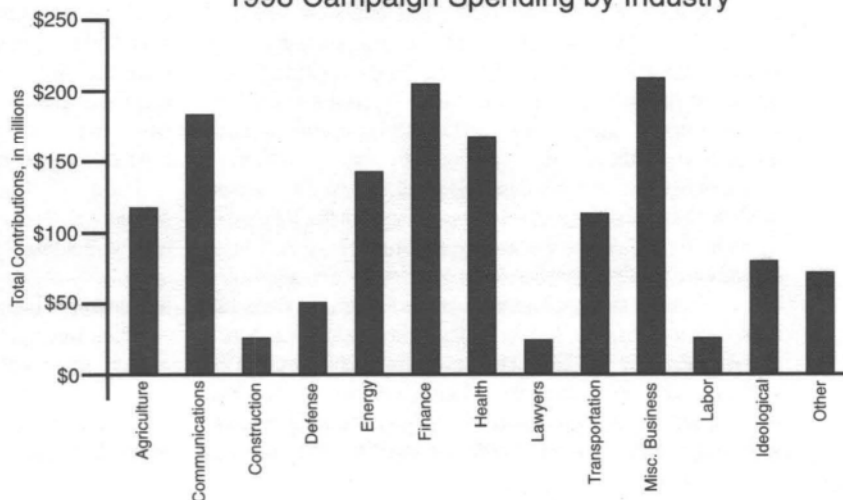
With specific points on how to counter opposition to a living wage, sample letters to college presidents, checklists of protest props and cheers, and even a chapter devoted to administrators who have decided to accept living wage proposals, the guide is a valuable source for strategy.

"Campus Living Wage Manual," free to students or \$5, free on website, www.stw.org, United for a Fair Economy, 617-423-2148 or stw@stw.org.

Big Spenders

As campaign 2000 approaches, grassroots groups hoping to have a voice will face some pretty stiff—and well-heeled—competition from special interests who can donate in the millions. These numbers from 1998 will be dwarfed by what these industries spend in 2000, when voters elect a new Congress and a president.

1998 Campaign Spending by Industry



Center for Responsive Politics

Garbage Out

By John McCrory

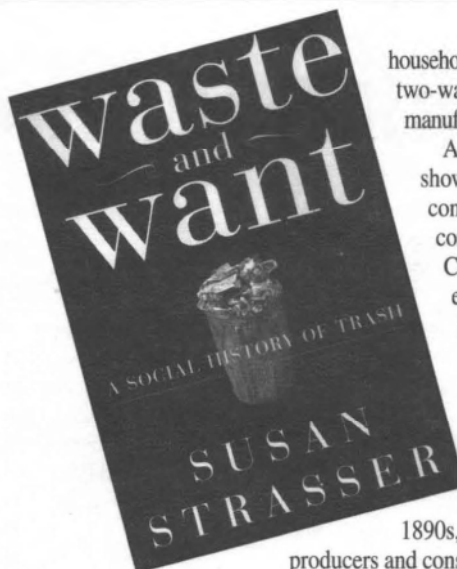
"Waste and Want: A Social History of Trash,"
by Susan Strasser, Metropolitan Books,
368 pages, \$27.50

As sanitation officials struggle to meet the 2002 deadline for closing the Fresh Kills landfill, where New York's garbage ends up and how it gets there have become volatile issues. No matter where or how we export our garbage, there is too much of it to begin with—26,000 tons a day—and we keep producing more. Even recycling has barely made a dent; since the city's program began in 1989, each ton recycled has been matched by an additional ton of trash. Though it is in the city's interest to limit the amount of garbage it must pay to dump elsewhere, the question of what to do with it *after* it's collected still rules the process. The more essential discussion—how we can be less wasteful—is off limits.

In her fascinating new book, *Waste and Want: A Social History of Trash*, University of Delaware historian Susan Strasser attempts to explain how we've become locked in that cycle of waste production and disposal—"how a throwaway culture," she writes, "replaced one grounded in reuse." Known for her lucid books on the history of housework and consumerism, Strasser again focuses on women's pivotal role in a major cultural shift.

Before the 1890s, Strasser observes, Americans produced almost no trash. Scarcity was the rule, and families mended and reused old materials out of ordinary but necessary habit. As industry took hold in cities through the 1800s, peddlers fanned out to the towns where most Americans lived, bringing them wire, farm tools, soap, cookware and all manner of manufactured goods, many of them formerly produced by women at home.

Historians have long noted the role peddlers played in habituating Americans to consuming, but Strasser points out that for most of the 19th century, money was scarce; barter ruled. As part of those transactions, she finds, peddlers were collectors as well as distributors. Exchanging their manufactured goods for farm products like eggs, feathers and bones, peddlers shipped these items back to their own suppliers. The suppliers, in turn, often paid employees with the food and traded the raw materials to factories for new goods, which they then sent back to their peddlers. Long before the word *recycling* was coined, Strasser writes, "materials literally cycled between



households and factories, creating a two-way relationship between manufacturers and consumers."

As her fine-grained account shows, urbanization, changing consumer habits and sanitary concerns changed all that. Colossal factories demanded more raw materials than households could provide. A new torrent of industrial byproducts further displaced demand for households' "secondary materials." By the

1890s, the relationship between producers and consumers had become a one-way street, and cast-off rags, broken plates and other materials now piled up as never before. America discovered the garbage crisis.

The political response of the time sounds eerily familiar. Strasser quotes Col. William F. Morse, a leading sanitary engineer, describing the sequence of events in New York in 1898: petitions and public outrage; the Mayor's belated attention to the problem; inspections, reports and pamphlets; a slew of bids and proposals from companies anxious to save the city from its troubles, for a price; and, when "everybody is sick and tired of the whole business," the city ends up with "a bad bargain that makes endless trouble in the future." Cities thus organized waste collection, and most waste was burned or landfilled.

"For the first time in human history," Strasser declares, "disposal became separated from production, consumption, and use." Once Strasser identifies this fundamental change, it becomes easy to understand why attempts to resurrect old ways—from World War II scrap drives to contemporary recycling programs—largely failed to stem the rising tide of trash.

Foreshadowing our more recent experience with recycling, the war-era scrap drives, Strasser says, did help to bring the conflict home and "offered Americans a way to contribute...without sacrificing too much." But she also points out that by asking people to turn their worn clothes, dented pans, and broken tools over to the government, the scrap drives paradoxically reinforced "newer habits of throwing things away" rather than older habits of mending, saving and reusing.

Waste and Want shows how the incremental accumulation of changes in consumption habits evolved so closely with technological and economic developments that they ultimately became inseparable. Our present consumer-industrial economy, which treats us to convenient disposable diapers and cameras, appears immune to recycling or salvage.

In the end, *Waste and Want* leaves us back at asking how we can become less wasteful, but with a richer understanding of how we got this way. By expanding the history of trash beyond the policies and technologies to which other accounts of the subject have been limited, Strasser has collected the raw material out of which we might fashion better answers to that question and, perhaps, more sophisticated solutions to our waste woes. ■

John McCrory is executive director of Big Apple Garbage Sentinel, a New York City waste policy research organization.

BUILDING BLOCKS

(continued from page 15)

won from private investors. "A deal in Harlem," Traylor points out, "would get a hell of a lot more, because it's great real estate, and that's what [the investor] is buying. It's very different from a deal that is spread across 30 buildings in central Brooklyn, which might be wood-frame buildings in a badly deteriorated neighborhood with lots of crime. We buy everything, regardless of the community organization, their skill set, and the real estate. The price is based on that—it averages out."

And the two groups, through the New York Equity Fund, offer more than just cash. They provide services that no private syndicator does, training accountants and developers in complex annual recertification procedures, and investing time and hand-holding to make sure difficult projects don't fail. The fund is also still recruiting new groups into tax credit funding—and some of these are working in neighborhoods like Bedford-Stuyvesant, where the projects are harder and the problems bigger.

Similarly, the Equity Fund takes many responsibilities off of HPD. The Fund doesn't just manage reserves—it also reviews budgets and makes sure that the developments have good cash flow and healthy underwriting. "We're quasi-governmental," is how Traylor puts it. "HPD gets more from [LISC and Enterprise] than a good financial return," says Carol Abrams, the department's spokesperson. "We value the technical assistance to ensure project success, front-end seed loans,

asset management and the willingness to help the [developer] if the project faces setbacks."

For their part, nonprofit executive directors like Alexander resent that they are paying for this free ride when they could be getting better deals elsewhere. "For HPD, it's been easy," grumbles Alexander. "They have a partner who knows this stuff, who has worked out deals on how the documents should look. It makes production easier when you're only dealing with one partner. It's still wrong."

But the security that the New York Equity Fund offers is something that Alexander and other free-market community developers must take seriously. In the next few years, some of the first tax credit projects will be expiring, and many community groups will want to buy out their investors. Just how much that will cost—or how nonprofits will round up the cash—is still unclear. Some investors will undoubtedly be happy to walk away from projects with their tax break in hand, while others may try to convert the buildings to market-rate housing, or sell them, if their deals allow it. But in any case, nonprofit developers that stay with their projects will have to find a new source of money to keep the developments functioning.

That's exactly where LISC and Enterprise may be able to prove their value again, hooking up community groups big and small with cash, credit, legal expertise and other resources. "Our intent is to not harm the project," promises Traylor. "The ultimate goal is to keep projects in good condition, and financially sound. I think everyone can rest assured that will be the outcome." ■

Union Labels

(continued from page 9)

be interesting to see how they articulate a working-class philosophy." Even if the coalition does win at the polls, a few seats on the council won't sway many budget votes. Decreasing state aid and rising debt service payments will push the city to hold wages and benefits down, and a recession could complicate the picture.

Still, these unions have loyal ranks who will turn out in force to vote. Being a cop or a firefighter is an instant character reference for many voters. And by seeking out political novices to run for office, observes Hunter College political science professor Kenneth Sherrill, the coalition is doing the work urban political parties used to do. "Somebody's got to recruit candidates, to encourage people to contemplate careers in public life," he says. That means that even if things don't work out in 2001, the coalition may find long-term success by filling voids in the political system.

Perhaps most critically, the unions represent the crucial blue-collar votes that both major parties need in every election. That means the coalition can "win" without winning, by attracting enough votes to wring promises from more successful candidates.

"Once you become an entity to be contended with there's a value to it," says Scotto. "We have not really taken advantage of our leverage and our power in the last 10 years. It's over. Labor is finally waking up." ■

JOB ADS

PART-TIME TENANT ORGANIZER. Responsible for organizing and assisting tenants with tenant association meetings. Educate, provide and disseminate information on tenant advocacy programs. Collaborate with other Harlem-based organizers and community-based organizations. Contributes housing related info to the newsletter. Qualifications: Knowledge of federal, city and state housing programs. Demonstrated work experience. Excellent written and oral communication skills. Bilingual a plus. Salary: Based on experience. Fax resume to 212-870-2851 or email: ECDO475@aol.com. Attention: ECDO, Associate Director.

RESEARCH ANALYST. For statewide affordable housing coalition located in Albany providing data- and research-related technical assistance and training. Excellent technology, writing, and coordination skills. Salary 30K + benefits. Fax resume ASAP to Neighborhood Preservation Coalition of NYS, 518-432-6758.

Funding Exchange Seeks **NETWORK CAMPAIGN COORDINATOR.** Responsibilities: Network Campaign Coordination—Network-wide promotion of the book "Robin Hood Was Right", including events planning and logistics coordination. Coordination of FEX Membership Programs—Event program planning, staffing board committees, compiling data for various reports. Qualifications: Experience with progressive nonprofits, preferably in network settings. Public relations or promotional campaigns experience. Demonstrated ability in coordinating a multifaceted program. Computer, public speaking and writing skills. Salary: \$38,000 or commensurate with experience; excellent benefits. Resumes to: Membership Search, Funding Exchange, 666 Broadway, Suite 500, New York, NY 10012.

Catholic Charities has the following position available in their Manhattan location: **DONOR RELATIONS COORDINATOR.** Assist Associate Director with

direct mail and donor relations. Position requires a demonstrated proficiency with computers as well as an ability & willingness to learn new computer applications as needed. A strong attention to detail is required in order to ensure the accuracy of gift/demographic entry & the acknowledgment process. College degree preferred. Computer proficiency (database, spreadsheets, word). Excellent written, verbal & communication skills. Ability & willingness to take on additional responsibilities as needed. Excellent benefits, 19 holidays. Send resume, salary requirements & include job title in your response to: Catholic Charities, Archdiocese of New York, Attn: Personnel Dept., 1011 First Avenue, Rm. 1113, New York, New York 10022.

HOMEOWNERSHIP COUNSELOR. Not-for-profit organization seeks individual to counsel clients, market programs, coordinate education seminars. Degree, 2 or more years experience in housing, mortgage lending, homebuyer education; strong administrative, interpersonal, presentation skills required; ability to work flexible hours. Resume and salary requirement to: Audrey Washington, NHS of WOW, 1178 East Gun Hill Road, Bronx, NY, 10469. Fax: 718-881-1190.

DIRECTOR. NYC organization seeks individual to manage programs. BA degree, experience in affordable mortgage lending, loan underwriting, preferred; strong administrative, management skills. Resume with salary requirements to: Search Director, fax: 212-242-6680.

COMMUNITY ADVOCATE/COUNSELOR. Information and referral services, case management, advocacy, some individual and group counseling to participants of adult education program. Duties include: individual sessions, group work, educational workshops, employment counseling, welfare, housing, community organizing and other advocacy. Full-time, some evenings. Spanish-speaking preferred. BA or BSW. Good benefits. Fax resume and cover letter to Charlotte Marchant, Isaacs Center, 212-410-5735.

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JOB ADS

(continued from page 27)

New Settlement, a nonprofit housing, community service and community action organization in the Southwest Bronx, owns and operates 893 units of mixed income housing, sponsors numerous youth-focused programs and organizes for reform of local schools and a safer, healthier neighborhood.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZER. Must be a trained organizer with a passion for social justice to work with an established parent-led group whose goal is education reform in Community School District 9. The successful candidate should possess strong writing skills, a minimum 2 years experience organizing and a proven track record in outreach, research & campaign development. The ability to facilitate groups & a BA essential. MSW preferred. Bilingual English/Spanish nec. Full time; some evenings and weekends.

YOUTH PROJECT COORDINATOR. Coordinate & expand the Bronx Helpers, a community service & organizing program for teens, ages 12-18. Requires demonstrated commitment & exp. in youth development, preferably in a community-based setting. Must be a self-starter w/strong communication skills. MSW with concentration in organizing or group work preferred. Full time; some evenings and weekends. We offer comprehensive benefits. Please send resume and cover letter indicating position desired to: Megan Nolan, New Settlement Apartments, 1512 Townsend Ave., Bronx, NY 10452. Fax: 718-294-4085.

PART-TIME WORKPLACE JUSTICE ORGANIZER. Make the Road by Walking, a community-based organization in Bushwick, Brooklyn, is seeking a part-time organizer, 20-24 hours a week, for its Workplace Justice Project. The organizer will be responsible for: organizing, conducting outreach to workers in the community, developing member leadership skills, and facilitating meetings. Labor organizing experience and fluent Spanish a must. Salary: \$10/hour. People of color and women encouraged to apply. Contact Benjamin Sachs by fax at 718-418-9635.

The New York Philanthropy Initiative seeks a **PART-TIME RESEARCHER/ORGANIZER** to help identify and survey social justice organizations in New York City. NYPI seeks to make philanthropy more responsive to disenfranchised communities. Responsibilities include: scheduling and conducting field interviews with nonprofit organizations; recording data collected from interviews; assisting in data analysis and report presentation and release; planning meetings and city-wide briefings; maintaining databases and files; performing general administrative duties; and assisting with additional projects as assigned by the Project Director and Project Coordinator. Ideal candidate will have two years research and/or interviewing experience, excellent writing and organizational skills and an ability to interact with diverse people and organizations. Community organizing or policy advocacy experience highly desirable. Salary: \$15K to \$20K. Send resume, cover letter, and references to Sally Covington, National Center for Schools and Communities, Fordham University, 33 West 60th Street, 8th Floor, New York, NY 10023.

PUBLIC POLICY EXPERT to assist in management of research projects/investigations related to operations of NYC government and to NYC public policy. Candidates should have at least seven years of experience in conducting policy research and investigating government programs. Substantive knowledge of NYC and/or NYS agencies a plus. Must have proven policy writing and editorial skills. Send resume and writing sample to: Office of the Public Advocate, ADA, 1 Centre Street, New York, NY 10007.

A nonprofit organization seeks an experienced **RECEPTIONIST/OFFICE MANAGER.** Duties include answering phone, office management, assisting Deputy Director of Finance in administrative and clerical support. The candidate must be detail-oriented and willing to work in nonprofit organization. Please mail or fax your resume to: Director of Finance and Administrator, Committee to Protect Journalists, 330 Seventh Avenue, 12th Floor, NY, NY 10001. Fax: 212-465-9568.

PROGRAM ASSISTANT. Bass and Howes, a public policy and public affairs consulting firm with a focus on the concerns of women and families, seeks a program assistant to provide programmatic and logistical assistance on client projects. Bass and Howes works with nonprofit advocacy groups, foundations, professional associations, and private sector companies. In addition to client assistance, the Program Assistant will provide office and

administrative support. Candidates should have flexibility and excellent organizational, written and oral communication skills. A capacity to work independently, juggle multiple tasks and meet sudden deadlines is a must. Requirements include a college degree; experience in a busy, fast paced environment; and proficiency with Windows, WordPerfect and online services. An interest in health issues is desirable. Cover letter, resume to: Nancy Kim, Bass and Howes, 250 West 57th Street, Suite 1905, New York, NY, 10107. Fax: 212-245-8738 or email nkim@basshowes.com.

Small community-based organization that trains women for occupations considered nontraditional to women seeks **EMPLOYMENT RETENTION SPECIALIST.** Duties include working with students in current training programs to identify career plans and support needs; following up with graduates to identify and resolve problems encountered at new jobs; working with employers to ensure that NEW employees are meeting their job responsibilities; tracking the progress of NEW graduates through NEW's Access data base. Salary: commensurate with experience. Full benefits package. Please fax letter and resume to Bonnie Potter, Nontraditional Employment for Women, 212-255-8021.

Small community-based organization that trains women for occupations considered nontraditional to women seeks **CASE MANAGER.** Duties include counseling and case management, teaching "life skills" classes, maintaining student files and working as part of a team with other staff members to recruit and assess potential students. Prior work with public assistance recipients and other low-income populations, as well as familiarity with government contracts and ACMS systems a plus. BA required. Women and people of color strongly encouraged to apply. Salary: mid \$30K's. Attractive benefits package. Please fax resume ASAP to 212-255-8021.

ACTIVIST. Fight the city's anti-poor, racist policies. Work to organize poor people to fight for political and social change. Must be committed to social change. Long hours, pay moderate. Call 718-246-7900, ext. 206.

Highbridge Community Life Center, a not-for-profit community-based organization in the Bronx, seeks an experienced **JOB DEVELOPER.** Candidate must be proficient in the use of computers and have knowledge of Microsoft Office. Highbridge Community Life Center also seeks a **LEAD ORGANIZER.** Candidate will coordinate the daily activities of the NIH program which include: tenant organizing, community organizing, writing project reports, gathering and organizing data, proposals and outcomes. Fax resume to Sr. Ellenrita Purcaro at 718-681-4137.

REHABILITATION SPECIALIST COORDINATOR. The Center for Urban Community Services, Inc. (CUCS), an innovative not-for-profit organization, has a unique position available at the Prince George, a permanent supportive housing residence for 416 low income tenants, many of whom have a history of mental illness, homelessness, substance abuse and/or HIV/AIDS. The rehabilitation specialist coordinator is responsible for the provision of cognitive rehabilitation services to the diverse tenancy at the Prince George. This position has significant program development and service delivery responsibilities. Comprehensive training and supervision provided. Requirements: MA or OT, 4 years related post-masters, strong writing and verbal communication skills, and computer literacy. Salary: \$45K + comprehensive benefits including \$65 in monthly transit checks. Cover letter and resume ASAP to Paul Gualano, CUCS, 120 Wall St., 25th Fl., NY, NY, 10005. CUCS is committed to workforce diversity. EEO.

SENIOR LENDER. The Nonprofit Facilities Fund (NFF) is seeking a Senior Lender for its New York Program. The Lender will provide financial analysis for NFF's lending and asset-building products, provide financial advisory services for clients and assist in developing and implementing marketing strategies. Duties include performing credit analysis, making written and oral presentations, closing loans, monitoring the portfolio, and staffing special projects. While being dedicated to and located in New York, the Lender is also part of a six person financial services team that provides financial services nation-wide and is expected to work on projects from other areas as needed. Candidates must have a desire to work with nonprofits, knowledge of community development and/or banking industry. At least 4 years experience (2 years in this or a related field), Masters Degree preferred, and proficiency in Excel and Microsoft Word. Salary: mid-40s to mid 50-s, generous benefits. EOE. Send resume and cover letter via e-mail: norah.mcveigh@nffny.org; fax to 212-268-8653 or write Norah McVeigh,

JOB ADS

Nonprofit Facilities Fund, 70 West 36th Street, 11th Floor, New York, N.Y. 10018. No calls please.

SENIOR PROJECT MANAGER. NYC office of the Enterprise Foundation seeks experienced manager for new initiative to connect disadvantaged people with decent jobs that offer a chance of advancement. Work with CBOs and other nonprofits in NYC to coordinate employment and welfare-to-work strategies. Bachelor's degree in related field, graduate degree preferred. Min. 3 years experience in public or private job training & employment programs with proven results; NYC experience preferred; demonstrated ability to work with wide range of constituents. Visit enterprisefoundation.org for all details. Fax resume and salary requirements to 410-772-2702.

Nonprofit organization seeks **PERSONNEL ASSISTANT.** Ability to handle personnel issues, among them new hires, staff termination, time sheets, time and leave policy. Applicant must have strong organizational and communication skills. Minimum three years experience. Must have knowledge of employee benefits and health insurance issues. Bilingual preferred. Good interpersonal skills and knowledge of computer applications, i.e. Word and Excel. Good benefits. Salary range \$25K-30K. Mail resume to Inwood House, 320 E. 82nd Street, New York, NY 1028. Attn. Cecilia Gaston.

HOMEOWNER RELATIONS MANAGER. The NYC Housing Partnership is a not-for-profit organization working with various city and state agencies, private builders, banks and community-based non-profit groups to build affordable housing in NYC. The partnership is seeking a Homeowner Relations Manager to work with the Design and Construction Program staff on pre- and post-construction homeowner issues. The successful candidate will possess strong public relations, interpersonal and organizational skills. Strong computer skills including spreadsheets. BA degree required. Bilingual (Spanish) a plus, NY State driver's license and vehicle required. In your cover letter include compensation requirements. Reply to William Nelson, Chief of Staff, NYC Housing Partnership, One Battery Park Plaza, NY 10004 or fax to 212-742-9559. EOE.

CASES, a major nonprofit agency working to assure better futures for court involved defendants, seeks a **GRANTS ACCOUNTANT.** Responsible for restricted funds, both government and private sources; preparing vouchers for contract reimbursement; assisting in budget preparation; and entering budget lines into financial software system. Budget experience necessary; college degree; minimum two years fund accounting and spreadsheet experience; strong proficiency in American Fundware and/or Creidian Payroll software preferred. Salary \$30K's, commensurate with experience, plus excellent benefits. Send resume and cover letter to CASES, Director of Personnel-GA, 346 Broadway, New York, NY 10013. EEO Employer.

Catholic Charities has the following positions available in its Manhattan location: **ACCOUNTS PAYABLE CLERK.** Verifying AFP's are prepared properly and processed on a timely basis. Coordinate activity with Data System center for processing batches, maintain A/P files in an efficient manner. Other assignments & special projects as required by senior management. College credits in accounting or HS diploma with 2-4 years of payables or related experience. Excellent interpersonal, communication & organizational skills. Willingness to work additional hours when necessary. **COORDINATOR OF REFUGEE RESETTLEMENT.** Overall administration of Refugee Resettlement and its programs including Resettlement & Placement, Match Grants, Chinese Minors. Direct Supervision of staff & training staff on policy changes. Implementation & monitoring of budget. Serve as a liaison between the Refugee Office & the health & social service system. Develop new services to meet the needs of refugees & asylees. Bachelor's degree; previous experience in staff supervision; highly motivated and self-starter; good communication, analytical & interpersonal skills. Willingness to travel throughout the Archdiocese. Knowledge of immigration & refugee laws helpful. Experience with Microsoft Office. **JOB READINESS COORDINATOR.** Coordinating & implementing Job Readiness Program for the Graduates of the Education Outreach Program & other clients. Planning & arranging job readiness workshops. Assist in the goal setting and outside referrals for participants. Assist in the fundraising for the program. BA, BS, or BSW. Knowledge of Spanish. Prior experience working with people in need. Good interpersonal, communication and networking skills. Ability to handle varied responsibilities. Teaching ability

helpful. Able to accept flexible hours. Excellent benefits, 19 Holidays. Send resume, salary requirements & include full job title in your response to: Catholic Charities, 1011 First Avenue-Room 1113, New York, NY 10022 or Fax: 212-816-8795.

QUALITY ASSURANCE COORDINATOR for the Center for Urban Community Services, Inc., an innovative community-based social services organization whose mission is to improve the quality of life for the homeless, low-income and special needs populations. Responsibilities include: assisting in the development and maintenance of agency-wide quality assurance activities including performing ongoing audit of client files, related staff trainings, and quality improvement programming. Requirements: CSW, 2 years of related post-masters experience; 2 years of related pre-masters experience may be substituted for 1 years of post-masters experience. Experience in quality assurance or program evaluation activities. Salary: \$39K + comp. bnfts. including \$65/month transit checks. Send cover letter and resume to Joe DeGenova, CUCS, 120 Wall Street, 25th Floor, New York, NY 10005. CUCS is committed to workforce diversity. EEO.

DIRECTOR OF DEVELOPMENT. South Brooklyn Legal Services, providing free legal assistance to low-income Brooklyn residents, seeks Development Director to lead fundraising (grantwriting, direct mail campaigns, major donor solicitation, special events) and public relations (reports, conferences and press relations). Fundraising experience, organizational, interpersonal & writing skills required. Salary, benefits commensurate w/experience. EOE. **PARALEGAL/COORDINATOR:** Child Care Network Support Project. We seek person to initiate and implement a new project to help childcare networks (groups of home-based day care providers) recruit and train childcare providers, to make childcare work a real employment option, and to support the formation of more networks. Childcare, organizing, government benefits experience desirable, as is ability to speak Spanish, Haitian-Creole. Salary, benefits pursuant to collective bargaining agreement. EOE. Resume/cover letter to: John C. Gray, SBLs, 105 Court Street, Brooklyn, NY 11201.

MBD Community Housing Corporation, a community-based, nonprofit housing organization seeks an experienced **HOUSING SPECIALIST** with a minimum of three years experience. The Housing Specialist will be responsible for project coordination from concept to completion, development of project budgets, timelines, management of development team and project financing for MBD's Housing Program. Must have BA minimum, strong written, analytical and oral skills. Send cover letter and resume to: Ms. Colette Gill, 1726 Boston Road, Bronx, NY 10456, Fax: 718-542-7694.

FIELD ORGANIZER, War Resisters League national staff. Part-time/temp. Assess needs of WRL locals groups, create resources, promote WRL programs nationally. Commitment to nonviolence, excellent communication skills, flexible schedule. Some travel; eve/weekend meetings. Call for job description or see website: www.nonviolence.org/wrl. Resume, cover letter by Dec. 7 to: Search, WRL, 339 Lafayette St., NY, NY 10012, wrl@igc.apc.org, fax: 212-228-6193.

Social Services: Brooklyn-based nonprofit has positions available for **PROGRAM DIRECTOR, HUMAN RESOURCES ADMINISTRATOR, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT, EMPLOYMENT SPECIALIST** (must have 3-5 years employment experience), **CASE MANAGER TECH.** And **COMMUNITY FOLLOW-UP WORKER/FT.** Fluent in English-Spanish is a plus for some positions, good reading and writing skills, good interpersonal skills. Further requirements needed, depending on positions. Experience is required. A degree in Health/Human Services in some positions required. Fax cover letter/resume to Maritza Peralta, 718-439-3965, or mail to Discipleship Outreach Ministries, Inc., 5220 4th Avenue, Brooklyn, NY 11220. No phone calls, please.

HOUSING ORGANIZER. Expanding city-wide housing organization seeks experienced housing organizer. Responsibilities include organizing resident-run mutual housing associations, providing ongoing training and support to resident leaders, and overseeing work of other organizers. Experience with tenant and distressed housing issues required. Bilingual a plus but not required. Salary \$25K or higher, based on experience. Full benefits. Send cover letter/resume to CATCH, 121 6th Avenue, Suite 501, New York, NY 10013. Fax: 212-431-9783.

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JOB ADS

(continued from page 29)

Cathedral Community Cares, a non-sectarian social service program, seeks candidates for **CRISIS CENTER COORDINATOR** position. Services offered to community members include emergency referrals for food, clothing, shelter, detox, and other needs. In-house services include clothes closet, individual and group counseling. Responsible for intake process and referrals, management reporting, and volunteers. Reports to Director and works closely with Evening Program Coordinator. Monday through Friday 9 to 5. Must be computer literate. BSW, MSW, or CSAC preferred. Spanish speaking a plus. Send cover letter and resume to Rita Marie Trucios, St. John the Divine, 1047 Amsterdam Avenue, NYC 10025. Fax 212-932-7393.

Northern Manhattan Improvement Corporation is seeking a **CASE MANAGER** to join the agency's Social Services Department. Duties include providing case management services to families relocated into permanent housing by the Department of Homeless Services, transitional and Tier II shelters; advocacy and referrals, home visits; development and implementation of service plans. Requirements: MSW, Bilingual (Spanish/English). Salary: Negotiable. Submit resume to Maria Lizardo, Director of Social Services, NMIC, 76 Wadsworth Avenue, New York, NY 10033; Fax 212-740-9646. Email: marializardo@nmic.org.

Nonprofit providing legal services to HIV-positive individuals seeks a **POLICY ANALYST/COMMUNITY ORGANIZER**. Requires strong writing/analytical

skills, organizing experience, ability to juggle multiple tasks/work in a fast-paced office, and a commitment to working with women. Duties include: writing fact sheets/press releases/correspondence, coordinating a national coalition, presenting at conferences, staffing hotline, and coordinating an advocacy training program for HIV-positive women. Submit cover letter, writing sample, 3 telephone references, and resume to Elsa A. Rios, executive director, HIV Law Project, 841 Broadway, Suite 608, NYC, 10003.

VICE PRESIDENT OF FINANCE. Major Bronx nonprofit specializing in economic development seeks a Vice President of Finance to carry out the financial obligations of the corporation. This individual will coordinate all operations of the Fiscal Department, including: supervising and evaluating staff, formulating policies and procedures, monitoring government grants and program budgets, projecting cash flow and monitoring investment activities. Salary commensurate with experience. BA in accounting and 8 years of experience required. Send resume to K. Hill, SOBRO, 370 E. 149th Street, Bronx, NY 10455.

VOCATIONAL/EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM DIRECTOR. Provides technical assistance to HIV/AIDS housing program in the area of Vocational/Educational program development and management. Provides workshops, conferences and trainings on vocational/educational issues. Develops relevant publications and position papers on employment issues for persons with HIV/AIDS. Maintains contractual compliance with relevant funding sources. Bachelor's degree required with 2 years experience. Master's degree preferred. Knowledge of AIDS and employment issues. Strong analytical skills, ability to work with

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JUNIOR BOOKKEEPER. Maintains records of financial transactions by ensuring the timely and accurate processing of accounts payable and contract billing for the HRA scatter-site contracts, tracking client program fee arrears for the program and providing budget development sessions to scatter-site clients. Reports to Accounting Manager. Background and Education: High School diploma or equivalency. Minimum of two to three years experience in non-profit accounting; especially accounts payable and/or billing (preferably both areas). Experience working with nonprofit accounting software (preferably fundware); experience with spreadsheet software, notably Lotus 1-2-3 and ability to write routine correspondence. Salary range up to \$30K based on experience. Fax: 212-633-2932.

PARALEGALS. MFY Legal Services has immediate openings for paralegals to serve low-income people in Manhattan. Work in the areas of housing and public benefits law including SSI applications. Duties include outreach to clients and community agencies, telephone intake, interviewing clients and advocacy on behalf of clients. Requirements: organized, excellent client counseling skills, bilingual ability preferred (Spanish or Chinese dialects). Salary pursuant to CBA up to \$27,687, excellent benefits. Please send cover letter and resume to: Peggy Earisman, Managing Attorney, MFY Legal Services, Inc., 299 Broadway, 4th Floor, New York, New York 10007. MFY is committed to workforce diversity.

HOUSING POLICY ANALYST. Citizens Housing and Planning Council seeks a policy analyst to research housing issues in New York City. Advanced degree or equivalent professional experience, familiarity with quantitative methods, and excellent writing skills. Send let/res: Job Search, CHPC, 50 E. 42nd Street, Suite 407, New York, NY 10017.

ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR (MEDIA) wanted for the San Francisco office of We Interrupt This Message, a national nonprofit media training and services center challenging racism and stereotypes in the media. Salary commensurate with experience. People of color and Spanish speakers strongly encouraged to apply. Call 415-537-9437.

The Pratt Area Community Council (PACC) is a growing not-for-profit organization. We combine tenant and community organizing, tenant and homeowner services, affordable housing development and management and economic development to improve the Brooklyn communities of Ft. Greene, Clinton Hill and Bedford-Stuyvesant. PACC has the following positions available: **ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT DIRECTOR** to implement newly initiated economics development strategy designed to address our communities' need for job and business development. Implement and oversee commercial revitalization activities and job and business resource center; assist with fundraising and resource development. Candidates should have business or community development experience and possess excellent communication & organizational skills. Salary to \$50K. **HOUSING DEVELOPMENT COORDINATOR** to implement and administer new and existing housing and commercial development projects. Under the supervision of the Housing Development Director, the housing development coordinator identifies and analyzes development opportunities; determines project feasibility; negotiates and conducts transactions related to real estate acquisition; secures financing and entitlements; develops and maintains budgets and project timelines; provides construction oversight as necessary; responds to RFPs; drafts RFQs; and, designs and negotiates construction, development and consultant contracts. Ideal candidate is a highly motivated self-starter with two years of housing or related experience and excellent organizational, problem solving and writing skills. Financial packaging and knowledge of publicly-funded programs helpful. Salary commensurate with experience. **COMMUNITY ORGANIZER** to establish a network of community groups and residents to work on community issues. Work with tenants in distressed properties providing counseling, educational and organizational assistance. Develop community educational literature and programs. Must be a community-minded, high-energy self-starter willing to be part of an organizing team. Bilingual English/Spanish a plus, Salary mid to high \$20Ks, commensurate with experience. All positions: Must be PC literate. Commitment to community development a must, not-for-profit experience preferred. Women and minorities are strongly encouraged to apply. Send cover letter and resume to: PACC, 201 DeKalb Avenue, Brooklyn, NY 11205. Fax: 718-522-2604.

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PROGRAM OPERATIONS DIRECTOR. HIPPI USA, a national leader in early childhood/family literacy, seeks exceptional leader for overall responsibility for national program in 28 states serving 15,000 families. Oversee program innovation, adaptations, evaluation, training, field operations & supervision of senior staff. Required: MA & 15 years experience, bilingual/bicultural a plus, 25% travel. Highly competitive salary. Letter & resume to ED, HIPPI USA, 220 E. 23 St., Ste. 300, NY, NY 10010 or Fax: 212-532-7899.

DIRECTOR OF FINANCE AND ADMINISTRATION. Innovative Brooklyn CDC seeks motivated individual to oversee finance and administration. Oversee finance & budgeting, administration (including IT), organization development, and potentially HR. Enable growing organization to combine efficient operations with commitment to affordable housing, economic development and community empowerment. Requirements: Strong experience in finance/administration; working knowledge of accounting; supervisory skills; computer literacy; excellent communications skills. Master's in relevant field preferred. AA/EOE. Cover letter, resume, and salary requirements to Director of Finance/Administration, Fifth Avenue Committee, 1421 Fifth Avenue, Brooklyn, NY 11217 or fax to 718-857-4322. www.fifthave.org.

The 14th Street-Union Square Business Improvement District and Local Development Corporation is seeking a **DEPUTY DIRECTOR** to help in the revitalization of New York's most dynamic and vibrant neighborhood. Background in marketing and promotion, fundraising, economic development, or community relations a plus. Salary is commensurate with experience and education. Please send resume to: Executive Director, 14th St.-Union Square BID & LDC, 4 Irving Place, Rm. 1148-S, New York, NY 10003. Fax: 212-420-8670. Email: hayles@coned.com

The Center for Urban Community Services, Inc., an innovative community-based social services organization, has the following position available at the 350 Lafayette-Transitional Living Community, a successful mental health and housing placement program for mentally-ill, homeless women in the SoHo neighborhood of Manhattan. **PROGRAM ASSISTANT.** This individual will provide administrative support for program management and direct service staff. Specific responsibilities include: medical billing; word processing, including deadline-oriented documents/reports; database management; and external communications. This position also involves some client contact. Requirements: HS Diploma, BA preferred; 2 years office experience; knowledge of MS word, Access; excellent organizational skills; ability to prioritize effectively. Must be a self-starter. Salary: \$27K + comp. bnfts. including \$65 in monthly transit checks. Resume and cover letter to Susan Torres, CUCS, 350 Lafayette, New York, NY, 10012. CUCS is committed to workforce diversity. EEO.

The Center for Urban Community Services, an innovative community-based social service organization has the following position available at the Prince George Program. This program is a permanent supportive housing residence for 418 low-income tenants, many of whom have a history of mental illness, homelessness, substance abuse and/or HIV/AIDS located in mid-town Manhattan. **SUBSTANCE ABUSE SPECIALIST.** This individual will work as part of an interdisciplinary team educating staff and parents in methods to achieve and maintain sobriety. Responsibilities include counseling, training, and program and community resource development. Applicants must have experience with abuse and recovery issues in a community setting, experience with MICA and PLWA populations, and experience with individuals working toward vocational goals. Strong outreach and organizational skills and the ability to work independently are preferred. Training and program development experience is a strong plus. Requirements: Addiction training and a BA degree and 2 years experience providing direct services to the specific population(s) to be served; or an AA (60 college credits) and 5 years experience; or HS and 7 years experience. Good written & verbal communication skills required. Bilingual Spanish/English a plus. Salary: \$30K + comp. bnfts. including \$65 in monthly transit checks. Send cover letter and resume ASAP to Sue Smith, CUCS-The Prince George, 14 East 28th Street, New York, NY, 10016. CUCS is committed to workforce diversity. EEO.

GRANTWRITER, part-time. Neighborhood Initiatives Development Corporation (NIDC), a Bronx-based nonprofit organization with programs in housing, employment and commercial revitalization, seeks p/t grantwriter to assist agency's Associate Director. Responsibilities will include preparing reports and proposals to foundation and corporate founders, maintaining database, research and some public relations work. Schedule: approximately 20-25 hours per week, flexible hours. Requirements: BA with 1-2 years fundraising experience, familiarity with issues facing community groups. Good writing skills and computer proficiency essential. Send resume, writing sample to Paula Walzer, NIDC, 2523 Ogden Avenue, Bronx, NY 10467. Fax: 718-231-9898.

Citywide nonprofit seeks **NEIGHBORHOOD ENVIRONMENTAL ACTION PROGRAM COORDINATOR.** BA + community organizing experience required. Knowledge of MS Word/Access97 required. Bilingual, knowledge of diverse communities preferred. Salary \$15/hour, 21 hours/week. Resume, salary requirements & short writing sample by 11/12/99 to: JM, CCNYC, 305 7th Ave., Fl. 15, NYC 10001 or jobs@citizensnyc.org. Please include job title in subject line.

Citywide nonprofit seeks **ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT** for fiscal & personnel department. 2+ years experience required. Knowledge of MS Office97 & bilingual a plus. \$15/hour, daily, 10a.m.-3 p.m., negotiable. Resume & short writing sample by 11/15/99 to: R2, CCNYC, 305 7th Ave., Fl. 15, NYC 10001 or jobs@citizensnyc.org. Please include job title in subject line.

MEMBERSHIP ORGANIZER. New York City Environmental Justice Alliance. Recruit new member groups and manage application process; plan for NYCEJA's Annual Meeting and three yearly Membership Meetings; publish and distribute NYCEJA's weekly fax bulletin, flyers and NYCEJA's quarterly newsletter; maintain our organizational database and library. Qualifications: BA (any major); bilingual English/Spanish; excellent computer skills; strong writing, communication and organizing skills; an understanding of New York City's low-income communities of color and experience in grass roots organizing. Salary: \$30,000 + benefits. Send resume with cover letter to Leslie H. Lowe, 115 West 30th St., Room 709, NY, NY 10001. Fax: 212-239-2838.

The Center for Urban Community Services Inc., an innovative community-based social service organization has the following position available at the Prince George Program. This program is a permanent supportive housing residence for 418 low-income tenants, many of whom have a history of mental illness, homelessness, substance abuse and/or HIV/AIDS located in mid-town Manhattan. **RECEPTIONIST.** Responsibilities include phone coverage, greeting visitors and directing them appropriately, and providing routine clerical support including word processing, copying, etc. Additionally, this individual will be responsible for mail management and light statistical calculations. Requirements: High School diploma, good interpersonal and telephone skills. Experience with Microsoft Windows and word-processing preferred. The salary for this position is \$24,840 plus comp. bnfts. including \$65 in monthly transit checks. Send cover letter and resume ASAP to Roy Becoat, CUCS-The Prince George, 14 East 28th Street, New York, NY 10016. CUCS is committed to workplace diversity. EEO.

CUCS, an innovative not-for-profit organization providing mental health and social services to tenants in seven supportive housing residences which co-sponsors the WorkPlace Partnership in collaboration with Common Ground Community is seeking a program director. **CUCS' DIRECTOR OF JOB TRAINING AND EMPLOYMENT SERVICES** is responsible for the development and management of the organization's range of vocational programs, services and activities. The primary function of this position includes the shared responsibility for the development and direction of a collaborative program providing vocational services, job training and employment opportunities or supportive housing tenants. Additionally, this person is responsible for oversight of CUCS' specific program components, including those for special needs populations; development of program goals, objectives and performance standards; service coordination and integration with agency sites and programs; fiscal management; reporting and regulatory compliance; staff development and supervision; development of external job training opportunities, employ-

JOB ADS

ment opportunities and corporate linkages; development and oversight of CUCS business ventures including the Sugar Hill Thrift Shop and Times Square Delivers. Requirements: Master's degree in a related field and 5 years program development/management experience required. Supervisory experience and experience with indicated population(s) also requires. The salary for this position is commensurate with experience. Send cover letter and resume with salary history to Paul Gualano, 120 Wall Street, 25th Floor, NY, NY 10005. CUCS is committed to workforce diversity. EEO.

The Center for Urban Community Services, Inc., an innovative community-based social services organization, has the following position available at the 350 Lafayette-Transitional Living Community, a successful mental health and housing placement program for mentally-ill, homeless women in the SoHo neighborhood of Manhattan. **CASE MANAGER** (evening team, M-F, 2:30 p.m.-10 p.m.). Responsibilities include individual and group services, crisis intervention, and case management. Requirements: High School diploma or equivalent and one year direct services experience in mental health; BA may substitute for one year experience. Candidate must also have good written and verbal communication skills. Bilingual Spanish/English required. Salary: \$25K + comp. bnfts. including \$65 in monthly transit checks. Cover letter and resume by 11/19/99 to Melody Hartmann, CUCS, 350 Lafayette Street, New York, NY 10012. CUCS is committed to workforce diversity. EEO.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR. Statewide anti-hunger advocacy and comm. food org. 5 years exp. non-profit. Lobby, admin., grant writing. \$40-45K. HANNYS, 94 Central Ave., #2, Albany, NY 12206

DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATE. Leading NYC child welfare agency seeks experienced corporate/foundation grantwriter. Very interesting and varied work, excellent salary and benefits. Looking for a creative, well-organized, committed professional. Please send two writing samples, letter and resume to L. Glazer at the address below. **ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT.** Seeking a capable, reliable administrative assistant to answer a busy phone and provide support to professional fundraising and public relations staff. Good typing and computer skills a must. Experience and a college degree preferred but not necessary. Excellent salary and benefits. Send resume to L. Glazer, Children's Aid Society, 105 East 22nd Street, NYC 10010.

The Center for Urban Community Services, Inc., a growing not-for-profit organization whose mission is to improve the quality of life for homeless and low-income individuals, is seeking a **SENIOR SOCIAL WORK CLINICIAN**. This position is available at the Times Square Program, a permanent supportive housing residence for 650 low-income tenants, many of whom have a history of mental illness, homelessness, substance abuse and/or HIV/AIDS. The primary responsibility of this position will be to direct client care, group work, and program development on a core services team. Additionally, this position will provide clinical support to para-professionals, participate in the design and provision of in-service trainings, and assist the clinical coordinator in reviewing core plans to meet agency standards. Reqs: CSW; 2 years of applicable post-master's direct service experience with populations served by the program; 2 years of applicable pre-master's degree experience may be substituted for no more than 1 year of post-master's experience; good writing and verbal communication skills; computer literacy. Bilingual Spanish/English is preferred. Salary: \$39K + comp. bnfts. including \$65 in monthly transit checks. Send cover letter and resume to Personnel Office, CUCS-Times Square, 255 West 43rd Street, NY, NY, 10036. CUCS is committed to workforce diversity. EEO.

Women's Housing and Economic Development Corp., a progressive non-profit in the South Bronx, seeks **HELPSDESK ANALYST**. Responsibilities include: Coordination and support of computer software/hardware and telecommunication needs. Website development, grants database management and other tech-related special projects. Salary commensurate with experience. Fax cover letter/resume to: Human Resources, 718-839-1170.

The Pratt Area Community Council is a growing not-for-profit organization. We combine tenant and community organizing, tenant and homeowner services, affordable housing development and management, and eco-

nomie development to improve the Brooklyn communities of Fort Greene, Clinton Hill, and Bedford Stuyvesant. PACC has the following positions available: **ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT DIRECTOR** to implement newly initiated economic development strategy designed to address our communities' need for job and business development. Implement and oversee commercial revitalization activities and job and business resource center; assist with fundraising and resource development. Candidate should have business or community development experience and possess excellent communication & organizational skills. Salary to \$50K. **COMMUNITY ORGANIZER** to establish a network of community groups and residents to work on community issues. Work with tenants in distressed properties providing counseling, education and organizational assistance. Develop community educational literature and programs. Must be a community-minded, high-energy self-starter willing to be part of an organizing team. Bilingual English/Spanish a plus. Salary mid- to high-twenties commensurate with experience. Must be PC literate. Commitment to community development a must, not-for-profit experience preferred. Women and minorities are strongly encouraged to apply. Send cover letter and resume to: PACC, 201 DeKalb Avenue, Brooklyn, NY 11205. Fax: 718-522-2604.

CRISIS INTERVENTION COUNSELOR/ANTI-DISCRIMINATION TRAINER positions in multi-racial, progressive, community-based youth organizing center. Resume/cover letter to Project Reach, 1 Orchard Street, New York City, 10002. Fax: 212-966-4963. Phone: 966-4227. Womyn of color/LGBT/Chinese Bilingual encouraged to apply.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR. Interfaith-Adopt-A-Building, a Lower East Side nonprofit housing management, development and social services organization with a staff of six, seeks a dynamic executive director to work closely with the Board of Directors in restructuring and re-energizing this 25+-year-old organization. The ideal candidate will have at least five years administrative and supervisory experience in nonprofit housing management, development and fundraising. Knowledge of DHCR NPP and Weatherization Programs desirable. Responsibilities include contract and fiscal management and oversight; foundation, corporate and donor development; community needs and resource assessment as well as new project design and implementation. Please fax resume to: 212-414-0249 or mail to: IAAB Board of Directors, PO Box 20912, New York, NY 10009.

GRANTS/COMMUNICATIONS ASSOCIATE. Advocates for Children is looking for a Grants/Communications Associate. The Associate will write proposals, assist with corporate fundraising, private donor development, and special events work. S/he will draft press releases, opinions and editorials and follow up with media. Preference for someone with fundraising experience, but alternate relevant job experience welcomed. Salary is \$40,000 with generous benefits package. EOE. Please mail/fax resumes to: Jill Chaifetz, Advocates for Children 151 West 30th St. 5th Fl., NY, NY 10001 Fax 212-947-9790.

PUBLIC POLICY ASSOCIATE. Leading advocacy membership organization for services to senior citizens, seeks experienced staff person to work on city, state and federal aging issues with emphasis on state issues. Opportunity to participate in advocacy strategies and develop public policy. Ability to be a spokesperson representing the agency with our members, at committee meetings, in coalitions and with government officials. Qualifications: masters-level education preferred; strong advocacy skills; excellent communication and interpersonal skills; computer literate; ability to travel to Albany. Experience with state legislative process and aging issues preferred. Salary: mid 30's with benefits package. Send resume with letter of interest to: Bobbie Sackman, Director of Public Policy, Council of Senior Centers and Services of NYC, 49. W. 45th Street, New York, NY 10036. Fax: 212-398-8398.

FINANCIAL CONSULTANT. The Africa Fund, a 33-year-old New York based nonprofit organization advocating a U.S. policy for Africa supporting human rights & democracy seeks a part-time consultant to supervise financial aspects of its six-person operation. Equal Opportunity Employer. Salary and hours negotiable. For details: <http://www.prairienet.org/acas/afund.html> or fax your address to 212-785-1078. No phone calls.

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SPARE CHANGE

The Mosquito Host



By Peter Hogness

September 17. Mayor Rudolph Giuliani today defended his decision to spray all five boroughs of New York City with the pesticide Malathion. He described critics of his policy as "environmental terrorists."

September 21. Responding to complaints from New Yorkers who have been doused with pesticides by city helicopters, Mayor Giuliani urged citizens not to listen to "people who like to create hysteria." The pesticides posed no danger, the Mayor insisted. "I've been sprayed about seven times," he said, "and I'm still here."

* * *

September 30. "Malathion is actually very, very good for you," Mayor Giuliani said today. "If people knew more about the science, they would understand that." The mayor announced that he now showers in Malathion on a daily basis.

October 8. Mayor Giuliani denied that his increasingly pallid complexion was related to his daily showers in Malathion. "I've always looked like this," he insisted. He accused his questioner, a reporter for the *Staten Island Advance*, of "playing the race card." The mayor said he was proud that "this administration has never paid attention to anyone's color."

October 16. A mosquito was sighted today in Central Park, and Mayor Giuliani announced that the Department of Health would immediately start applying Malathion to citizens on an individual basis. "We hope to get everyone's cooperation," the mayor said.

October 18. After two mosquitoes and a butterfly were spotted together in Prospect Park, Mayor Giuliani announced that the city would step up its policy of individual spraying. "Police officers will accompany Department of Health personnel as they make their rounds," the mayor said. Standard NYPD policy for strip searches will be followed. "We need to make sure every orifice is treated," the mayor explained.

October 19. In the wake of widespread criticism, Mayor Giuliani announced a relaxation of the city's new spraying policy. "We've already accomplished a lot," the mayor said, "and the result is that it's now enough for most people to be sprayed while fully clothed." From now on, strip-spraying will be applied only to those who criticize the policy.

October 27. With clouds of Malathion-resistant mosquitoes increasingly common in Central Park, Parks Commissioner Henry Stern announced that groups of more than 20 mosquitoes would be required to obtain a \$25 permit. Mayor Giuliani predicted this would have an immediate impact. "I don't know a mosquito anywhere who's got \$25," the mayor said.

October 31. With the city's mosquitoes pushed out of the parks and into its backyards and living rooms, Mayor Giuliani urged citizens to follow his example and shower twice a day with Malathion. A repeat caller to Giuliani's radio show objected that "your skin already looks like candle wax" and warned listeners that the mayor was "one of the 'undead.'" The caller was arrested.

November 2. Voter turnout was light today. Many non-voters cited the swarms of insects that have now taken up residence throughout the city. In an upset victory in northern Queens, a mosquito was elected to the post of civil court judge on the Liberal line.

November 14. Today the mayor moved to cut off city funding to the Brooklyn Museum after it opened an exhibit featuring a mosquito encased in ancient Egyptian amber. "I don't know why anyone would want to glorify these dangerous insects," the mayor said. A few hours later, the Museum of Natural History closed its entomology wing for "renovations."

November 30. Armed with a court order, thousands of mosquitoes now gather daily on the front steps of City Hall. Public Advocate Mark Green, barely visible through the dense cloud of insects, held a press conference at which he labeled the mayor's spraying policy a failure.

December 1. Mayor Giuliani today insisted that his spraying efforts have been a success. "We have already killed every mosquito in New York City several times over," the mayor said. "It's obvious that these mosquitoes came from somewhere else." Giuliani denounced the bugs as "carpetbaggers."

December 18. After a swarm of mosquitoes penetrated Mayor Giuliani's Emergency Command Office in the World Trade Center, the mayor ordered their immediate arrest. "Every time I tried to take a nap, there was that damned buzzing in my ear," the mayor is reported to have said.

December 31. As thousands of insects of all descriptions hurled themselves against the windows of City Hall, Mayor Giuliani scoffed at suggestions that Malathion was not going to solve the crisis. "What we need," the mayor said, "is a stronger dose." At an emergency meeting with his top advisers, the mayor asked them all to join him in drinking a glass of Malathion "as an example to the city." A source present reported that everyone was glad to carry out the mayor's request. "It wasn't even bitter," he said, noting that the drink had been flavored with Kool-Aid.

Peter Hogness is a Brooklyn-based freelance writer.

JOB ADS

(continued from page 33)

PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT SPECIALIST sought to provide support and technical assistance to multiple site youth development programs. Work directly with the Assistant Vice President in a variety of research and administrative capacities including staff development, creation of new initiatives, programmatic and fiscal monitoring and creation of written materials. Requires excellent communications skills and master's or equivalent experience in youth development and/or education programs. Salary in low \$30K's; excellent benefits. Please fax resume to L. Bezahler at 212-366-8015 or mail to L. Bezahler, FEGS., 315 Hudson St., 7th floor, New York, NY 10013.

DIRECTOR OF DEVELOPMENT AND MARKETING. Asian Americans for equality, (AAFE) a 25-year old organization, seeks an experienced professional to work with Executive Director on developing funding for existing programs, researching new funding prospects and developing individual donors. Ideal candidate should have 5-7 years of experience in development and marketing; excellent communication skills and computer expertise (experience with Raiser's Edge a plus.) Please submit cover letter and resume to: Executive Director, AAFE, 108 Norfolk Street, New York, NY 10002. Fax: 212-979-2219. EOE.

HIV HEALTH EDUCATOR: The Institute for Urban Family Health seeks HIV Health Educator to work with interdisciplinary Health Care for the Homeless Program in Manhattan. Seeking creative, high energy, organized individual to do outreach, group health education, and HIV pre and post-test counseling. Work in a variety of sites with adult homeless population. Bilingual Spanish preferred. Experience with substance abuse and mental illness a plus. Must have pre/post test counselor certification and experience. BA/BS and relevant experience, MSW or related a plus. Fax resume and cover letter to: E. Wallman, IUFH, (212)989-2840.

The AIDS and Adolescents Network of New York (AANNY) seeks a dynamic, visionary **EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR**. AANNY has an operating budget of \$350,000 and a staff of seven employees. A minimum of five years non-profit work experience required, Master's degree preferred. Bilingual a plus. Send cover letter with salary requirements, resume and 2-5 page writing sample ASAP to: AANNY, 666 Broadway, Suite 520, New York, NY 10012. ATTN: Patricia Diez Gradin. No phone calls or faxes.

The Charleston NeighborWorks HomeOwnership Center seeks a founding **EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR** to lead this service coordinating and delivery organization. The HomeOwnership Center is an innovative approach to providing, in one physical location, all the services and training that customers need to shop for, purchase, rehabilitate, ensure, and maintain a

home. Customers will include current renters, first-time homebuyers and homeowners in need of affordable financing for housing rehabilitation or repair. To apply: interested candidates should send a resume and cover letter in confidence to: Donna Cramer, Consultant, Isaacson Miller, 334 Boylston Street, Suite 500, Boston, Massachusetts 02116. Telephone: 617-262-6500. Fax: 617-262-6509. Email: dcramer@imsearch.com.

DEPUTY DIRECTOR for Working Families Party. Knowledge of NY community, labor, minority, immigrant and/or non-profit organizations a must. Ability to communicate well essential. Spanish a plus. Women and people of color encouraged to apply. Salary DOE. Fax resume and cover letter to 718-246-3718 or email to WFP@workingfamiliesparty.org.

SENIOR PLANNER. Pratt Institute Center for Community and Environmental Development (PICCED) seeks an experienced planner to provide direct assistance to nonprofit neighborhood-based housing & community development organizations in NYC & vicinity. Responsibilities also include conducting research & managing contracts. MS in planning; 5 years' experience in hands-on low-income community planning; strong written and verbal communication skills; knowledge of land use, development finance and related policy issues; and facility w/ planning & development computer applications are required. Knowledge of Spanish is a plus. Salary commensurate with qualifications + benefits for this grant-funded position. Please submit resume and cover letter to PICCED (Dept. UP), Steuben 2, 379 DeKalb Ave., Brooklyn, NY 11205. EOE.

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2 Beautiful office spaces available for one- or two-person not-for-profit operation. Downtown Seaport area, \$1,000 each complete—available January 1, 2000. Call B. Treen or B. Hogan at 212-463-9500.

Progressive quarterly seeks to lease, sub-lease, or buy 300-400 square feet on Upper West Side of Manhattan. Call Dissent magazine at 212-595-3084 or 212-749-2137.

Network for Women's Services (NWS) has available for sublet in the Bronx approximately 300 square feet of professional office space, consisting of two connected rooms with locking interior door, large enough to accommodate two desks, just across the street from Bronx Supreme Court. Share conference room, full kitchen and private bath with NWS for \$500 per month, electricity included. Call Catherine Douglass at 212-695-3800, extension 23.

STOREFRONT: 1500 square foot storefront on 116th Street just east of Frederick Douglass Boulevard. Great location for retail-near subway and bus lines. \$28/sq. ft. Contact: Pamela Fairclough, Community Food Resource Center. 212-894-8099. No brokers.

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